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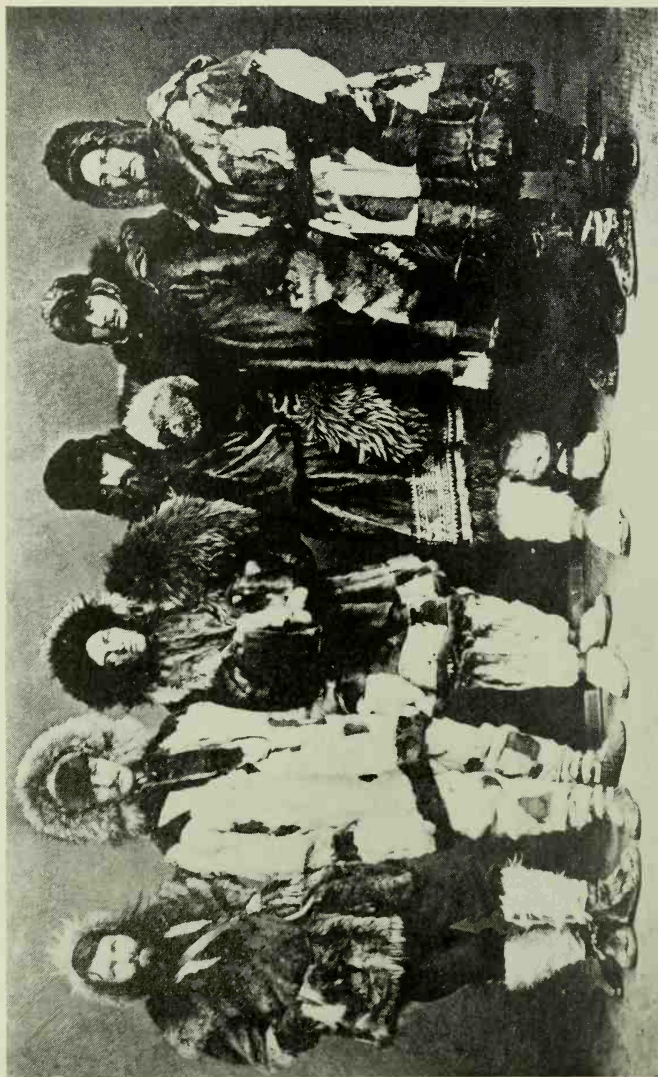
California Historical Society Quarterly

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Pioneer officers, Western Union Telegraph Co., Russian Extension. Left to right:
Bendeleben, Smith, Jay B. Chappel, Ennis, Adams, and Denison.
Reproduced from original photograph in State Library, Sacramento.

Journal of William H. Ennis

Member, Russian-American Telegraph Exploring Expedition

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,

By HAROLD F. TAGGART

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ANY DISCUSSION of the efforts of the Western Union Telegraph Co. to span the world in the 1860's should begin with some reference to Perry McDonough Collins, a native of the state of New York, who came to California in 1849 and became a broker in gold dust.¹ In the preface to his book, *A Voyage Down the Amoor* [Amur] (New York, 1860), he wrote:

... For several years previous to 1855, while residing in California, I had given much study to the commercial resources of the Pacific side of the United States, especially in connection with the opposite coast of Asia. I had already fixed in my own mind upon the river Amoor as the destined channel by which American commercial enterprise was to penetrate the obscure depths of Northern Asia and open a new world to trade and civilization, when news arrived in 1855 that the Russians had taken possession of the Amoor country and formed a settlement at the mouth of the river.²

Collins went to Washington and, after interviews with President Franklin Pierce, Secretary of War William L. Marcy and others, he was appointed commercial agent of the United States for the Amoor River, March 24, 1856. Two weeks later he sailed for Russia.

The story of his trip by sled across Siberia is told in a matter-of-fact way. In his last chapter he speaks of having had conversations with Russian officials relating to railroad, telegraph, and steamboat connections between the Amoor and "the very heart of Siberia."³ By 1860 Collins was busy promoting his scheme of a "Telegraph around the World," and, as the Atlantic cable came to be viewed more and more as folly, Collins gained support.

He submitted his first of three memorials to congress in 1860. He was in Russia in 1863, where, on May twenty-third, he gained certain rights (land for stations and guard houses, use of timber, etc.) across 5000

miles of Russian territory;⁴ in London on February 9, 1864, he signed a similar agreement with the British government.⁵ Following his third petition to congress, that body, acting upon Secretary of State W. H. Seward's recommendation, passed an act (signed by President Lincoln, July 1, 1864) authorizing the project and guaranteeing government co-operation.⁶ Collins immediately sold his rights and interests to the Western Union Telegraph Co.,⁷ which in August 1864 formed a subsidiary known as the Western Union Extension.⁸

The Western Union Extension bought in England and transported to the Pacific coast, in four ships, 5000 miles of cable and wire, and other equipment.⁹ Col. Charles Bulkley was appointed engineer-in-chief.¹⁰ The expedition was organized along military lines, with land and marine forces. Maj. F. L. Pope and Capt. Edmond Conway were in charge of exploration and construction in the British-American division, Maj. Robert Kennicott* in the Russian-American division and Baron [major] Serge Abasa in the Asiatic division. Capt. Charles M. Scammon, who, with other officers of the revenue service, was released for service with the Western Union, became chief of the marine service.¹¹

January 15, 1865, Colonel Bulkley sailed into San Francisco on the *Moses Taylor* with the surgeon, Henry F. Fisher, and several heads of departments.¹² Headquarters were established in the custom house. Soon work was begun to overhaul and equip five vessels.¹³ The bark *Golden Gate*, which became the flagship, was fitted out as a war vessel, mounting six 12-pounders. Throughout the spring, Captain Conway was working north from New Westminster, British Columbia. The *Milton Badger* brought him wire, insulators, and supplies in June, then returned to San Francisco to be loaded again, this time for the Anadyr River. Major Pope joined Conway in May. The brig *Olga* was chartered to take Major Abasa, James Mahood, R. J. Rush, and George Kennan to Nicolayevsk, at the mouth of the Amoor.¹⁴ It left San Francisco on July third. About the same time, the company's bark *Palmetto* left with coal for Plover's Bay at the north end of Anadyr Gulf, near Bering Strait. The bark *Clara Bell* had sailed earlier for Sitka. On July tenth the *Golden Gate* and the steamer *George S. Wright* put to sea with the officers and men assigned to Russian America and the Anadyr River.¹⁵ Among the officers aboard the *Golden Gate* was William H. Ennis.¹⁶ With this background and introduction, we are ready to record the part

*Also spelled "Kennicutt."

played in the Russian-American explorations by Ennis, as told in his journal, which was started apparently on the long voyage to Sitka, and then carried on intermittently. One part is missing. The two portions, labeled 1 and 3, were discovered in a trunk purchased at auction by Mr. R. R. Sumner, San Mateo, California. In transcribing the journal, I have followed the original punctuation and spelling. Insertions of explanatory material have been placed in brackets. For the reader's convenience, paragraphing has at times been introduced.

PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN TELEGRAPH EXPLORING EXPEDITION

By WILLIAM H. ENNIS, Lieut. W. U. T. Co.

After an arduous trip of five months across the plains, I found myself in the great metropolis of the Pacific Coast "San Francisco" without friends or money, but by means of telegraphing, and the aid of friends at home, I was the happy recipient of sufficient funds to enable me to live in ease and luxury for many long days. It is needless for the writer here to state that with these funds on hand, I enjoyed the world and all its pleasures. I did so for the simple reason that after suffering many privations and hardships during my trip across the plains, I consequently came to the conclusion that I would taste of the pleasures of the City life, and experience those delights for which San Francisco is so renowned. After remaining several months in the city, I heard news of a gigantic expedition on foot, the purposes of which were to explore a line for the intention of laying a telegraph line from "Vancouver Island" to Siberia. From thence to communicate with the Russians from St. Petersburg and thus to have a line of communication from Europe to America. An undertaking of such magnitude, replete with adventure and the thought of travelling through the Arctic regions, seeing the Esquimaux and making myself familiar with their mode of living, manner of hunting, and customs, induced me to apply for a position in the Company's service and with these intentions fixed firmly in my mind, totally disregarding the hardships that I must encounter, I entered the office of *one* whom I then supposed to be the leader of the enterprise.

Upon my entering the room I noticed it filled with Gentlemen, some being busily engaged in drafting charts, others drawing designs of shoulder straps and buttons for officers in the employ of the Company,

while others were engaged in writing. With the deferential air and with all the politeness an American could command I entered the "Sanctum" and while in the act of taking a close scrutiny of the room and its inmates I was questioned by a sharp quick voice as to my business — I naturally enough examined my questioner, and found him to be a man small in stature, one who spoke a great deal and required to speak many words to say but little. After informing him as to the business that brought me before him, I was then asked as to my ability to pack mules, make canoes with a sharp stick, and many other accomplishments. To these and many other such questions, I answered according to my talent and on being informed that the pay was small, was asked if I went for pay or adventure. The salary that he offered for a man to risk his life in the Arctic was insignificant indeed, but as pay was to me but a secondary consideration, I replied that adventure and my love for roaming alone induced me to take the trip. Having previously served for five years as an officer of the Naval Service of the United States and my knowledge of signaling being thought would be of service to the Expedition, I was placed at work drawing designs for signals and to make the necessary requisitions for articles for that Department.¹⁷ After fulfilling this duty I was requested to report next day for duty at 10 A. M. Punctual to the hour I presented myself and was given the charge of the recruiting office, where I was to recruit 50 men for the company's service, with instructions to take none but those, I thought, capable of performing such duties as the necessities of the Country demanded. At this business I was engaged for four or five days, surrounded by as rough a set of men as San Francisco could produce, rejecting many selecting but few, I selected the fifty called for. Every day my chief would arrive with one of his Gentlemen carrying a Black Bag which was called the "Headquarters Bag," stuffed with papers of all descriptions, the most important of which were a paper of Glovers needles and official envelopes, the latter containing the official papers of the different departments.

Those who read this may well judge of my consternation when after working as I had done and risking a broken head among the "roughs" at the recruiting office, I was informed by the Chief, that I could not go with the expedition and that he had no authority to enlist any men whatever. Had a thunderbolt fallen at my feet, I could not have been more confounded and I naturally arrived at the conclusion after mature deliberation and consideration that there was "something rotten in Denmark." In no way baulked however by my disappointment I determined

to sift the matter and learn if this Expedition was a second Mexican enterprise and so I worked away when I was informed by a particular friend that the Engineer in Chief was Col. Chas. S. Bulkley, a person, as he informed me was a man of talent and ability and a perfect gentleman and that he would introduce me and make the necessary arrangements for my going with the expedition. This was encouraging and a Silver lining began to show itself among the sable clouds. According to this promise I was taken to the Rooms of the Chief Engineer and found him to possess all the qualities which in my mind make a great man, and after a few hours conversation came to the conclusion that the Telegraph Expedition was one of magnitude with a "Head," that would carry through successfully the gigantic undertaking. I was kindly informed that I could consider myself engaged and could accompany any of the Exploring parties, either in British America under Major Pope or the Arctic one under Major Kennicutt. Preferring the latter on account of the novelties attending it, I determined to go with Major K. and after making the necessary arrangements I left highly elated with the success attending my visit. During the two months that I was in the Company's employ before sailing I had ample opportunities to become acquainted with some of the Officers and learn something more definite regarding the exploration. Many of the Officers, especially Msrs. Quartermaster Arnold, Adjutant Wright and Chief Quartermaster Chappel, I found to be perfect gentlemen and their kindness to me on many occasions I shall always remember with feelings of pleasure. Assistant Engineer Mr. Hyde a man of much pomposity and puffed out with a great amount of self esteem and cotton did not captivate my fancy and it could be plainly seen by any one, a reader of human nature, that he was playing the "fawn" with Col. B., and the manner he performed his part showed that he had in a manner duped the finer feelings of the Col. Many other Young men whom I chanced to meet in my walks through "Frisco" dressed in full uniform of the company and doubtless captivating many of those young ladies who have an eye for Brilliant objects, all passed for Lieutenants and Captains on the Col.'s staff. Whether under their brilliant uniforms lurked the germs of a Napoleon or a Newton I was then unable to say, but subsequently discovered that there was more brass than brains encompassing their persons. Be this as it may the most of them were good fellows and I shall always remember them as friends.

About the middle of June I visited the Company's ship called the

"Golden Gate" about 450 tons, undergoing repairs and being altered in such a manner as to be capable of carrying all the Officers of the Expedition to the different places on the Siberian and Arctic coasts. At another wharf the steamer "Geo. Wright" was also undergoing similar alterations and both vessels would leave at or about the same time. A hired brig, called the "Olga" was getting ready for sea to carry Major Abasa, Lieuts. Bush, Kennon and Mayhood to the Asiatic coast to carry on the Explorations in that country. Major Pope with several Gentlemen started for British America to explore the line from "Victoria" to "Fort Yukon" on the Yukon River, a post belonging to the Hudson Bay Fur Company. One vessel the "Palmetto" started for the North with coal, while the bark "Clara Bell" was to be in Sitka in June, this vessel being loaded with most everything from a needle to a small steamer called the "Lizzie Homer" to be run up the "Kvichpak [Kwipak or Yukon] river" in Russian America. Seeing as I did, all these preparations I felt eager for the time to start and like the school boy for vacation thought the time would never arrive.

One party called the "Kvichpak Exploring Party" consisted of Major Kennicutt commanding, with Msrs. Denison, Dyer, Ketchum, Pease, Smith, Adams, Lebaye, and the writer of this. We were to explore that river which empties into Norton Sound from its mouth to "Fort Yukon" and there communicate with Major Pope's party. Orders came soon after that we were appointed 2nd Lieutenants in the Company's service, the uniform to consist of single breasted coat with staff buttons, the shoulder strap to be a silver snow shoe, and the cap front with a silver canoe. Pants with gold cord down the side, presenting a respectable appearance when dressed in full uniform.

On the 8th of July, 1865, we received orders to be on our respective ships on the 10th at 10 A. M. bag and baggage. My orders stating that I should repair on board the "Golden Gate" and occupy with Major Kennicutt a stateroom in the ward room. Punctual to the hour I left my hotel and in company with several of my most intimate friends proceeded to the wharf where after bidding farewell to them I jumped into the boat and left the shores of San Francisco, not knowing if I should ever return. I found the "Golden Gate" in great confusion, owing to the arrival of passengers and the departure of friends, and found the officers of the Ship making everything ready for the start. Capt. Scammon, U. S. R. M. commands the naval portion of the expedition, the ship is officered by the Revenue Service. The Expedition being to a certain

extent under the protection of the Government. Near 6 P. M. Col. Bulkley arrived on board and forth with the anchor was weighed, the steamer "Wright" came along side and took us in tow, but owing to a heavy gale of wind, we were unable to make much headway and were compelled to anchor off the "Presidio", a place where the U. S. troops are quartered. Here we lay all the next day until the Gale abated, when we were again taken in tow and at night anchored at Drake's Bay, where the Col., Major Kennicutt, Chappel and Lewis went on board the "Wright" while Col. Hyde was transferred to the "Golden Gate;" The "Wright" parted company from us and proceeded on her way to Victoria, Vancouver Island, while we were to sail for Sitka and be joined at that Port by the "Wright."

On the passage from Drake's Bay to Sitka the Officers amused themselves reading, smoking and card playing. Hyde our commander amused himself by issuing orders regulating the duties of the officers and ordered that Guards should be posted with Sergeants of the Guard and Officers of the Day; the writer had the honor of being appointed Officer of the day, my duties not being very fatiguing inasmuch as during the twenty four hours I was on duty, I amused myself sleeping, eating, and card playing. Supposing that the officers were becoming indolent, "Hyde" issued another flaming order that all Officers should drill the Sword exercise and Bayonet drill which we did from the hours of 10 to 11 A. M. Thus with drilling and other amusements we managed to kill time and make the hours pass speedily away. Some of the officers about twenty in number, were quartered "amidships" in a small dark and uncomfortable place, being surrounded by coils of well tarred rope and other articles connected with ships. This place was called by them the "Sweat Box" and this place in conjunction with having to eat at the second table, served to cause an immense amount of grumbling and many skirmishes. Our eating was in the main passably good, having "hash" three times a day and on Sunday a kind of pudding called "Duff." Butter which had a tendency to perform manouvers over the table was served in profusion and raw onions formed a delectable lunch about midnight. A Library brought by Mssrs. Arnold, Wright and Chappel served to beguile many a weary hour; with a free hand and an open heart these Gentlemen kindly placed this valuable reading material at the disposal of the other officers. Our nights were spent by our "Quartette" singing some of their favorite songs, led by Mr. Dyer, assisted by Messrs. Denison, Smith and Adams. Although they had no

pretensions to be professional performers, still their music was sweet and their low melodies served many a time to make our minds wander back to the loved ones at home. —

Sunday July 23rd a grand inspection took place on board ship after which "Col. Hyde" appeared before us and delivered a short oration, in which he stated that much profanity was heard by officers in the Cabin, by those in the Wardroom. Now be this as it may, in my mind it was ill advised on his part to thus make a public reprimand before the sailors of the ship. "Hyde" prides himself on his morality and boasts that never in his life has he ever drank, swore, or been guilty of any of the other vices to which weak men are addicted. This, I must confess, is a credit to him, but he should not like unto the "Publican" of old cry out "Oh God I thank thee that I am not a sinner."

Sunday July 30th. Mr. Quartermaster Arnold's birthday was celebrated by Wright, McRae, Arnold and myself, in a most becoming manner. The entertainment consisting of Champagne and other liquors being drunk freely in Wright's state room, and several short deliveries being made in a *soto voce* style by the friends of the victim. I said Victim for poor Arnold had to furnish the liquors and "Like a man" he candidly admitted that we did ample justice to the wines, having drunk up all on hand. Thus did our days pass swiftly rendered pleasant by congenial friends. At last to my great surprise I received an invitation from Capt. Scammon and Col. Hyde to dine with them at 2 P. M. Mr. Labonne, our interpreter, was also invited and forthwith we commenced to busy ourselves about our toilet, applying a beautiful varnish on our boots and donning our uniforms. At the appointed hour we presented ourselves and were shown our respective seats, and soon commenced to do justice to his good dinner. Conversation began to flow freely, the Captain amused us by relating many of his "Yarns" both by sea and land. While Hyde on the contrary moved not a nerve, nor did he do much as fatigue his tongue by asking us to a second amount of Green Corn, although with half a glance he might have seen how wistfully we gazed in that portion of the table where lay the "tempting fruit." Well, with a Christian fortitude I forgive him, and believe me, when I say, that when we left the table of the Commanders we were as hungry as when we sat down. I remarked to Labonne after the meal, that there was entirely too much talking and but little eating; he naturally agreed with me. Of all the ills a subordinate officer is beset with, the greatest is to be requested to dine with your Superior. You are necessitated to be over

polite, refuse handing over your plate the Second time for pie, when you could eat five whole ones, and laugh and smile at all the incipient jokes that he may condescend to offer for your amusement. I remember once when in the company of six young midshipmen we were invited by Commodore M—— of the Frigate Roanoke to take dinner with him. We found ourselves seated to a magnificent meal with many bottles and sundry decanters containing choice liquors, which were placed on the table more for ornament than use. This we all had sense enough to know and after each drinking health of our host, in a glow of sherry, we all modestly refused to indulge further, saying that too much ardent spirits would be injurious to Young men, and received the approbation of our worthy Commodore. Kind fortune suddenly smiled on us however, for soon after refusing the Captain of a French Frigate was announced as coming on board, which rendered it necessary for the Commodore to go on deck to meet him. No sooner had he left the Cabin than every one seized a bottle or decanter and soon, more speedily than I can write it, did we drain the bottles to the bottom. The Reader may suppose and correctly so that the Young Gentlemen were in a most lively mood, when our loved Commodore returned with his French visitor. Kindly introduced as his "Young Officers" all hands with true feeling, giving the Polite Frenchman a cordial American grasp. Wine, that is the decanters were handed to the foreigner to indulge, but what was the surprise of the Commodore to find them empty. One terrible gaze was our reward and soon the dismissal from the Cabin, we left singing, with Patriotic feeling, with Operatic style, "the Star Spangled Banner." I give this incident to show only the restraint young officers are under while in the presence of their Superiors. I am confident that I speak the minds of all Subordinates when I say that it is the greatest evil that can happen them to be invited to dine with a Superior.

Aug. 5th, 1865. Hove in sight of "Queen Charlotte Island," and beheld the towering mountains capped with perpetual snows. I should judge these mountains to be all of 6000 feet above the level of the sea. Most of the island is unexplored and is inhabited by savages whose hostility to the Whites render it unsafe for the latter to settle there. As much as has been learned regarding the island go to prove that Silver [or] Gold abounds, but I should suppose that it would never pay the miner owing to the shortness of the summer. This was the first land we had seen for 23 days and it was indeed a joyful sight to one who had

seen nothing but the blue sea for so many days. This Island is situated about $53^{\circ} 54'$ Lat. and 133° and $134'$ Long.

Aug. 9th. Hove in sight of Mt. Edgeconel [Edgecumbe]. This mountain is about ten or twelve miles from Sitka and after sailing about five miles from the mountain came to anchor, fired several guns to attract attention in the town so as to secure a pilot. About 10 P. M. two three holed skin canoes called "Bidareks" in one of which was a pilot, came alongside, from whom we learned that the "Geo. M. Wright" with Col. Bulkley was in port also the company's bark "Clara Bell". This was encouraging news, so we remained at anchor all night, determining to enter the town the next morning. At daylight the anchor was weighed we commenced to beat into the port against a head wind making but little headway, when to our joy the Steamer hove in sight and soon took us in tow. After entering the port and coming to anchor we thundered a salute of 21 guns, which was answered by the battery from the town. Soon the vessel was surrounded by canoes containing "Squaws" of the "Collosh tribe," the most of whom had their faces frightfully blackened, for what purpose I know not.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Corday Mackay, "The Collins Overland Telegraph," *British Columbia Quarterly*, X (1946), 187-216, gives a short statement on the activities of Collins in the promotion of the line. Mackay refers to the Donald McNichol collection in the library of Queens Univ., Kingston, Ontario (books, etc., on the telegraph); McNichol prepared in 1928 a short sketch of the life of Collins. Mackay's article is mainly devoted to the Canadian portion of the project, much of his material being drawn from the journal of Capt. Edmond Conway, chief of construction. The line from Seattle to New Westminster, British Columbia, was completed in April 1865; the California State Telegraph Co. was immediately absorbed by Western Union.

2. A second edition under the title, *Overland Exploration in Siberia, Northern Asia and the Great Amoor River Country* (New York, 1864), contains a "map and plan of an overland telegraph around the world, via Behring Straits and Asiatic Russia to Europe" (connecting lines with Australia, Japan, and China are indicated). Also in the appendix are many documents, such as reports of congressional committees in support of the project. The first edition is cited below

as "Collins, *A Voyage*"; the second edition as "Collins, *Overland Exploration*."

3. Collins, *A Voyage*, p. 382.

4. *American Annual* [1864] *Cyclopaedia*, p. 760. The Russian government agreed to construct 1800 miles to Nicholaievsk (*also spelled Nicolayevsk*; Nikolayevsk), at the mouth of the Amoor.

5. *Ibid.*

6. Collins, *Overland Exploration*, p. 448. Seward's statement included a tribute to Collins, as the one "who conceived and projected it and [somewhat ironical today] who has clothed it with substantial form which enables the three Great States, whose concerted action he seeks, to cause it to be put into operation."

7. Collins is reported to have received \$100,000 cash, paid up stock in the amount of \$100,000, and the right to subscribe to another \$100,000 worth of stock, "as compensation for eight years of service in securing the grants." Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 193, citing James D. Reid, *The Telegraph in America and Morse Memorial* (New York, 1886), pp. 508-17. Later, Collins moved to New York, where he died in January 1900 at the age of 88 years. His death was briefly noted in San Francisco papers.

8. Hiram Sibley, president of the Western Union, had been enthusiastic for some time. The Western Union Extension (J. H. Wade, president) was chartered in New York, with authorized capital of \$10,000,000 (100,000 shs.). The first subscription of 20,000 shares, with five per cent down, was taken up at once. Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

9. *American Annual* [1866] *Cyclopaedia*, p. 723.

10. Mackay notes that the [Charles] Bulkley Papers (original manuscripts) are in the Library Association, Portland, Ore., with photostatic copies in the University of British Columbia.

11. The [Charles M.] Scammon Papers in the Bancroft Library, Univ. Calif., Berkeley, are a storehouse of material. There are photograph albums with pictures of practically all the officers (including Ennis), scrapbooks, journals, and logs of ships, and a great number of pencil sketches, several by Frederick Whymper. The log of the *Golden Gate* parallels Ennis' account closely.

12. *Daily Evening Bulletin* (San Francisco), Jan. 16, 1865. The story closes with a note that the project will employ 1500 men on land.

13. The first flagship, the *Golden Gate*, was wrecked on Oct. 4, 1866, at the mouth of the Anadyr River. The *Nightingale* succeeded her as flagship on March 29, 1867. In all, nearly 24 ships were flying the flag of the Western Union in the years 1865-67.

14. *Daily Alta California*, July 11, 1865. George Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia* (New York, 1870), gives a comprehensive account of the work in the Asiatic division. Kennan was twenty years of age at the time he left San Francisco. He became famous as journalist, author, and lecturer on Russian affairs.

15. Below, in alphabetical order, are the names of those who went on the ex-

petition, as compiled chiefly from data in the Scammon Papers (see note 11 above). Variations in spelling are frequent: J. B. Chappell's surname appears also as Chappel; Dennison's as Denison. (See group photograph.)

George Adams	George Dow	Donald McNichol
A. S. Arnold	Joseph T. Dyer	Collins McRae
Henry Bannister	W. H. Ennis	William Marston
J. M. Bean	Henry F. Fisher, M.D.	Jared Norton
O. de Bendeleben	R. M. Freed	Charles Pease
Charles Bulkley	L. F. Greene	R. Starr Pollock
Scott R. Chappell	Andrew Gronberg	W. W. Robinson
Jay B. Chappell	Thomas Harding	Charles M. Scammon
Lawrence Conlin	W. H. Hyde	Hiram Sibley
Thomas Conlin	George Kennan	Frederick M. Smith
Edmond Conway	Robert Kennicott	Frank Smith
R. M. Cotter	Frank Ketchum	Grafton Smith
William H. Dall	Eugene Labonne	Frederick Whympers
John Davis	Michael Lebarge	George M. Wright
Thomas Dennison	J. R. Lewis	
W. K. O. Donoghe	Daniel Libby	

16. Very little information is available on Ennis and his family. One son, Scott, became a leader in Masonic affairs within California.

17. He is mentioned as a "clerk" in the report of the commanding officer of the *Port Royal*, at the capture of cotton at Apalachicola, Florida. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D. C., 1903), ser. 1, vol. 17, p. 421.

A California Martyr's Bones

By CLARENCE CULLIMORE

IN 1950, just before we left for Mexico City to place our daughter in the university's summer session, I was told, by whom I cannot remember, that Padre Francisco Garcés was buried in Querétaro. It seemed to me that he should have been buried in California where he labored and died; certainly his grave would be a shrine there. We planned to stop over a night and a day in Querétaro, but not to look up the bones of the martyred padre. That was incidental. Our main intent was to uncover escapades pertaining to a female cousin, thrice removed, of my grandfather. She had joined a circus as a bareback rider, had gone on the stage in New York, and had married a German prince who fought in Lincoln's army and who later joined Maximilian in Mexico. The princess was reported to have figured prominently in the emperor's grand finale: it was said that she had ridden horseback from Querétaro to San Luis Potosí to plead with President Benito Juárez that he spare the emperor's life. We found the princess' picture in the regional museum in a gold frame and snapped a color shot. The flash brought an attendant down upon us, against whom even *pesos* proved useless.

If it hadn't been for this disquieting interlude, we would have browsed further in the museum and, no doubt, would have found the portraits depicting Padre Garcés and the three other missionaries who perished with him on a stifling July day, 173 years ago, in the Yuma massacre.¹ After being shooed out of the museum, we took refuge in the adjacent church of San Francisco. As Padre Garcés was a member of the Franciscan order, and, in the old days, had been connected with the former College of Santa Cruz in Querétaro, it was natural enough for me to ask the priest who greeted us if he could tell me the whereabouts of the good padre's bones. By the blankness of his expression it was obvious that bones of martyrs were not his line, and that he had never heard of Francisco Tomás Hermenegildo Garcés or Juan Díaz, José Moreno or Juan Barreneche, all of whom perished in the Yuma massacre with Padre Garcés. The thought entered my head that perhaps my earlier inform-

ant had been misinformed and that the padre might not have been buried in Querétaro after all. Nevertheless, at the priest's suggestion, we climbed the hill east of the city to the old Church of the Holy Cross to make inquiry there. The edifice was locked and we were unable to raise anyone, so we had to forget our interest in the bones of the padre and go on to the university.

Although we might forsake the quest for his hallowed bones, we could never forget Padre Garcés' epic making deeds or his untimely martyrdom. For it was Padre Garcés who mapped the trail, dot by dot, across the trackless desert through southern Arizona and California, from one water hole to the next, for the first overland expedition to San Gabriel, touching the area that is now metropolitan Los Angeles and pushing northward.² Padre Garcés definitely broke the way for the thirty settlers, with their wives and children, whom Capt. Juan Bautista de Anza recruited from Culiacán, Real de los Alamos and way-stations south of what is now the border, that they might join his band on their 2000-mile journey from Culiacán to San Francisco.³ These emigrants passed the site, soon to be Los Angeles, without a recorded murmur and plodded on, looking for greener grazing. There were 240 of them when they left Tubac. There were a few births en route and 244 arrived at the spot on the peninsula that they liked best, there to become the first citizens of San Francisco.

San Francisco was no more than a star on Padre Garcés' map of explorations. The indefatigable missionary traveled on foot and on mule-back more than 5,000 miles into the interior of Arizona and even to the wilds of the upper San Joaquin Valley in California. Here, he circled the site of the present city of Bakersfield, where no white man had preceded him.⁴ Travel for its own sake was not Padre Garcés' hobby. He was primarily an evangelist, the first in Arizona and California to make extensive use of visual aids. He made a banner of linen cloth, on one side of which was vividly painted a person burning in hell; on the other side, the Virgin and Child. By the aid of this contrast, he explained the salvation of souls, zealously, far and wide.⁵

In 1780, stationed in the southeast corner of California on the banks of the Colorado River, across from the present city of Yuma, Arizona, Padre Garcés supervised the building of Misión de la Purísima Concepción and, a few miles north, of another church, San Pedro y San Pablo del Vado de Bicuñer.⁶

On July 17 to 19, 1781, the four Franciscans who manned the two

missions (Padre Francisco Garcés, then forty-three years old, and his youthful assistant Padre Barreneche, Padre Díaz and Padre Moreno) fell victims to the Yumas. The terrible slaughter was probably sparked by the Spanish settlers, who were allowed to take half of the Yumas' crops. Captain Rivera, arriving at Yuma with his colonists for Los Angeles, shortly before the uprising, sent the colonists ahead, while he remained at the Colorado River to fatten his cattle by turning them into ripening mesquite fields, the beans of which the Yumas used for food.⁷ Previous appropriation of the most fertile Indian lands by the white settlers, and other indignities that Padre Garcés had violently protested, were the underlying causes of the uprising. All but six of the forty men in the settlements were killed, and the women and children were taken captive. Padre Moreno was killed behind the church of San Pedro y San Pablo — his head was chopped off with an ax. Padre Díaz's body was found at the edge of the village. Padre Barreneche and Padre Garcés took refuge in the hut of a friendly Indian couple. The next day they were located by the aggressors and clubbed to death.⁸

That the Yuma missions ended in disaster was no fault of Padre Garcés. His ultimate trials stress his heroism. It is reported that when the fury of the massacre broke, it was Padre Garcés' entreaties which made the enraged leaders spare the women and children.

Two months after the massacre, the padre presidente of the missions of the region — which now includes a corner of California, a part of Arizona and of northern Mexico — hearing that a punitive expedition was being organized, determined to fulfill his duty to his martyred brothers by asking for the honors of an ecclesiastical burial for their remains. A memorial note from the comandante general directed the leader of the expedition to gather the remains of the deceased padres and deliver them to the mission at Tubutama, Sonora, Mexico.⁹

After Mass on September 16, 1781, Pedro Fages, the leader of one of the companies of volunteers from Catalonia, and his second in command, Pedro Tueros, captain of the cavalry and comandante of the royal presidio of Altar, set out from the presidio of Pitic for the Colorado River. Two months and twenty days later, the journey of over 500 miles from the Sonora River presidio to the two destroyed pueblos was completed. Fages had a parley with the Yumas, who agreed not to interfere in the recovery of the bodies of the padres.¹⁰ On December sixth the bones of Díaz and of Moreno, with his head missing, were identified at San Pedro y San Pablo.¹¹ On December tenth, near the Church of

Purísima Concepción, Captain Tueros discovered a green mound covered with camomile plants; within were the remains of Padre Garcés and Padre Barreneche, buried in their undergarments. Padre Garcés' body was practically incorrupt. According to a version of Pedro Fages' diary, published by the Academy of Pacific Coast History, Fages recorded on December 12, 1781:

Today I had a great cigarette case picked up near the mission Bicuñer, with another small one, had them repaired as best as they could be, and had the bodies of the Reverend Fathers Garcés and Barreneche placed in them. Each body was well wrapped in a blanket, and the bones of the reverend Fathers Moreno and Díaz were put in with them, everything being as well arranged as the circumstances permitted. Then, with the Reverend Father Cenizo and Captain Don Pedro Tueros as witnesses, I had the box wrapped with jute cloth in my presence, and bound up to my entire satisfaction, with the bodies and bones of the four reverend fathers inside, as I have said.¹²

The remains of the four padres were then laid before the altar of the Church of San Pedro y San Pablo, which was near the site of the present church of Santo Tomás on the California side of the Colorado River overlooking Yuma. Although the church built in 1780 had been burned, the adobe walls still stood around the altar. Candles were lighted and Padre Cenizo and the assembled soldiers repeated a Rosary.¹³

Under the direction of Captain Tueros, the remains were carried on muleback to Altar. From there they were borne to Tubutama, the Franciscan headquarters of Pimería Alta, where they were solemnly buried under the main altar on the gospel side of the church of San Pedro y San Pablo of that village.¹⁴

It was three years after the day that I photographed the portrait of my notorious relative in the regional museum in Querétaro that I dropped in at the Bakersfield College library and picked up Bancroft's *History of California*, where I found a statement stemming from "Investigación sobre la muerte de los religiosos. . . ." (manuscript by J. D. Arricivita) which said that the four martyrs were buried in a box at Tubutama.¹⁵ In Elliot Coues' *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer*, the author amplifies a similar statement by saying that their bodies were finally laid to rest forever in one coffin in the church at Tubutama.¹⁶ Helen C. White in her *Dust on the King's Highway* refers to the mission church in front of which Garcés was murdered, "... so it fell into rich earth of the river bottom, even as the body of its founder [Padre Garcés] crumbled into dust at Tubutama."¹⁷ Bolton, in his *Anza's California Expeditions*, speaks of Tubutama as a California shrine where the martyred padres

were buried. In a note he adds, "The remains of the missionaries were piously gathered up and carried in boxes to Tubutama for burial. There they still lie."¹⁸ A letter to the priest at Tubutama brought me a reply stating that it was believed, there, that the four martyrs still lie buried under the Tubutama church floor.¹⁹ This, normally, would seem almost to clinch the matter of Padre Garcés' final resting-place.

But I found an item in Engelhardt's *The Franciscans of Arizona*, stating that Padre Garcés had been buried in Querétaro. Engelhardt did not give the source of his information.²⁰ I found that other writers, perhaps taking the dictum from Engelhardt, had written of Garcés being buried in Querétaro. It is also recorded by Engelhardt that a funeral sermon was delivered in Querétaro on the thirteenth anniversary of the Yuma massacre in 1794. The service was held at the old College of Santa Cruz. Reports of that occasion do not make it clear whether the actual remains of the martyrs were present at the service or whether it was a memorial service without the remains. Records show that there were two sermons preached at this service, one in Spanish and one in Latin.²¹ It still seems a long way to have taken those bodies — more than 1,200 miles by mule trail.

Viewing the aforementioned conflicting statements of historians, I concluded that if Padre Garcés' body was actually removed from Tubutama, transported to Querétaro and re-buried, there certainly should be some documentary evidence of the removal and re-burial. Deciding to do a little searching for evidence, I addressed a letter to el presidente de la República de México, Adolfo Ruiz Cortines. I asked the president if he could refer me to someone who might help determine whether Tubutama was the present resting-place of Padre Garcés' remains. Almost immediately I received an air-mail stating that my letter had been referred to the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia for investigation and reply.

Approximately five months later I received an illuminating document from Señor Manuel Toussaint, director of national colonial monuments of Mexico. It contained an account of research done subsequent to my inquiry — research on the spot at the former College of Santa Cruz in Querétaro.²² My wife, who translated the document from the Spanish (see below), was the first to get the thrill from its contents, especially from that portion which leads to the supposition that the jumbled bones found by Rev. Padre Leopoldo Campos may be those of the cherished martyrs.

The following excerpts from Señor Toussaint's letter speak for themselves.

Mr. Clarence Cullimore
10 Oleander Ave.
Bakersfield, California, U. S. A.

Mexico D. F. August 13, 1953

Dear Mr. Cullimore:

I refer to the letter that you directed to the President of the Republic under date of April 2, 1953, turned over to this department for the facts enumerated below and to lay before you the research made in respect to the site in which P. Francisco Garcés, to whom you allude, was buried. It is a pleasure to me to transcribe the information that the Rev. Padre Leopoldo Campos, O. F. M. courteously furnished me.

.

"With respect to the location of the resting place of P. Fr. Francisco Garcés, missionary martyred by the Indians at Yuma in the massacre at the Mission of the Immaculate Conception on the Colorado River, July 19, 1781, I can give the following information: It is certain that the body of Garcés and those of the other three companions assassinated at the same time, were buried, after they were located and identified, in the church of the Mission of Tubutama, Sonora, Mexico. This is clear from the testimony of the Chronicler Arricivita in his Seraphic and Apostolic Chronicle of the College of 'Propaganda Fide' of Santa Cruz at Querétaro. . . . Some time elapsed before the superiors of the College, thinking that their institution ought to be in possession of these remains, especially because they belonged to it in life, also because it had the responsibility for the Missions of Sonora (Pimería Alta) and of the Colorado River, were firm and insistent in dispatching their legal order for the aforementioned purpose. Three letters were sent in reply, written by the P. President of the Missions of Sonora, Fr. Francisco Antonio Barbastro, to the superior of the College. In the first two letters, written in 1792, he says that he will try to do it . . . that the muleteer will carry the bones of our dead to the College. In the third letter, dated in Aconchi, July 14, 1793, he writes the following: 'I wrote to the Bishop and succeeded in lifting the embargo on the bones of our brothers and got the license to carry them to the college. They will be carried by the muleteer, Felix, who leaves for that city this week from the village of San Miguel de Horcasitas with orders to deliver his cargo to the college where he will be paid for the freight hauling.'²³ Arricivita does not say anything of this letter in his Chronicle, because his writing saw the public light the year before these remains arrived at the College at Querétaro. We are certain of this, for the event, giving them honorable burial, took place the 19th of July, 1794. This is one year after the departure from Sonora. The elaborate funeral that accompanied the burial is a matter of record, because of a note put down in the Catalogue of Manuscripts of Santa Cruz College archives, which

says: 'The sermon that was preached in this college in honor of the Venerable Padres Fr. Juan Díaz, Fr. Francisco Garcés, Fr. José Moreno and Fr. Juan Barreneche the 19, July, 1794, the day on which *their remains were placed in the front wall of the arch (vault), in a box inlaid into the wall, with its lid and key . . . 1794.*'²⁴ The sermon mentioned in the account no longer exists in its original manuscript, but it was printed in a pamphlet in Madrid by Firmin Villalpando in the year 1819, and contains 94 pages, copies of which are extant. . . .

"Being certain that the bones of the herein mentioned missionaries were definitely buried in the College of Santa Cruz, it remains to us to locate the precise spot where they are to be found. Guiding myself by the description recorded in the account and which is underlined, above, by me, I went to the church and Monastery of Santa Cruz and after looking here and there, I went down to the crypt, that is the arch (vault) which is still below the main altar of the church. There, I found a location likely to contain buried bodies, especially because the crypt was an ancient cemetery for the padres. In fact, the whole pavement is covered with wooden and numbered doors, each of them covering a sepulchre. But it was necessary to look for it in the front wall of the crypt according to the account. Just here, at the right and near the corner is a wooden door fixed in the wall, of only one leaf, that raises, turning on its hinges. After raising this door, I encountered a big wooden box (It seems to be juniper wood) and measures 76 cm. in length and 42 cm. in width, with trimmings of iron on its borders, with a plain lid and without a lock. It bears marks, however, that make it evident that a lock has been removed. Who committed this deed? Surely, they were persons of little respect for the remains of the deceased, perhaps looking for some treasures, even though they found only bones. Actually, the inside of the box is divided into three compartments and contains three skulls and human bones. Are these the remains of the four padres killed at Yuma? Furthermore, it seems to me that the bones now contained in the box are not sufficient to complete four skeletons. Nevertheless, next to the box in question there is another box, without a lid and almost eaten away, which also contains skulls and bones. I believe, therefore, that the remains of old padres were mixed by the profaners of the sepulchres. The question is one that only a scientist could determine, at least the time to which these remains belong. However, in the descriptive matter with respect to the box and the place where it is, we have some foundation in believing that the box above mentioned, formerly contained the bones of the martyred missionaries of the Colorado River, including those of P. Fr. Francisco Garcés. Consequently, there is ample evidence for a more extensive and more precise investigation."

With the above brought to light, it is the department's hope that this will be of historical usefulness for the purpose that you wish.

I repeat my sincere felicitations,

MANUEL TOUSSAINT

The Director of National Monuments of Mexico

Translated by Rosemary Thelen Cullimore

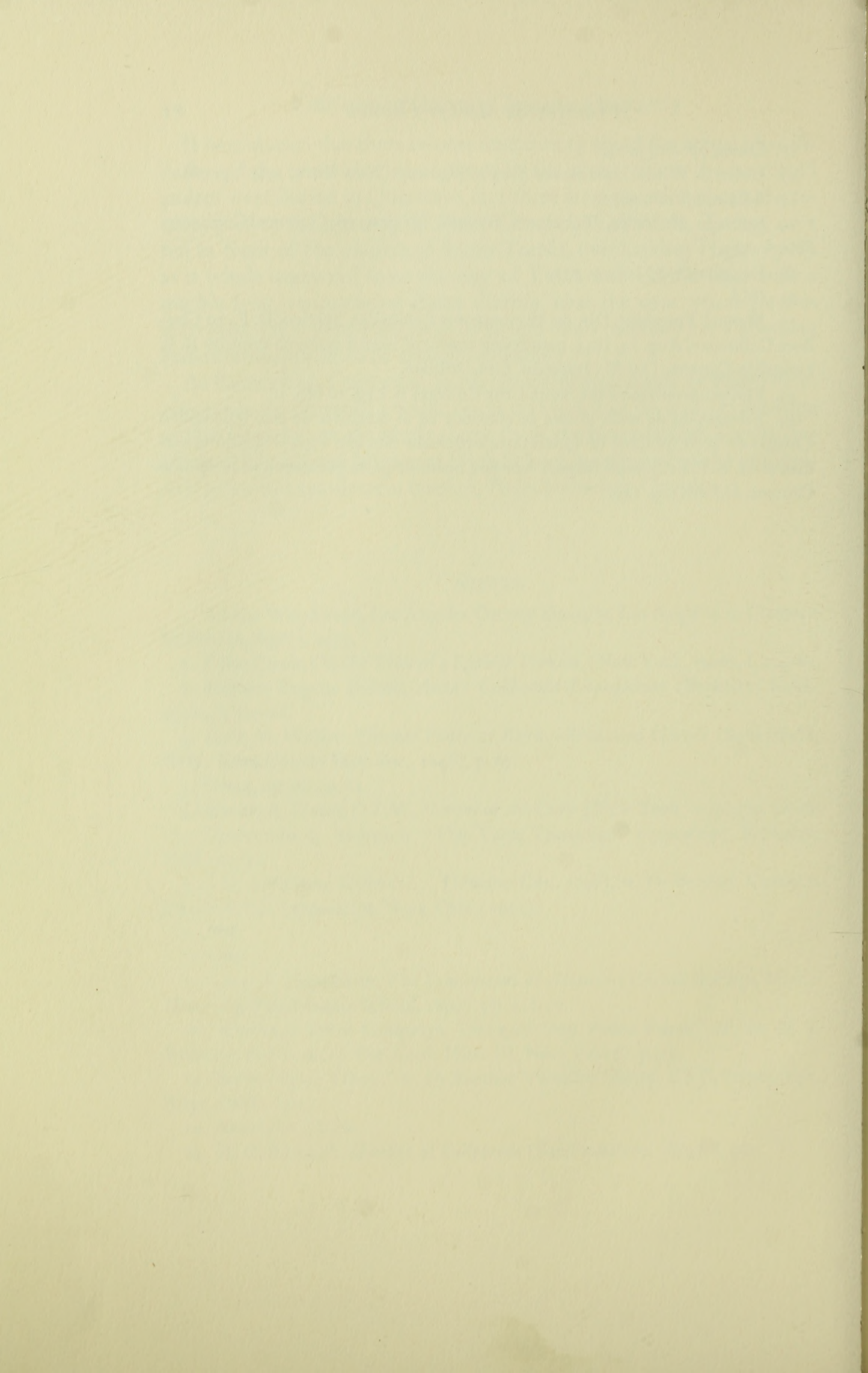
It would seem that there is some uncertainty about the actual identification of the bones that now repose in the niche where the martyred padres were buried in Querétaro, but there is no question about the respect paid to the memory of Padre Garcés in California. Today, on a hill in front of the church of Santo Tomás, overlooking Highway 80 as it winds westward from the city of Yuma into California, stands a marble friar, representing Padre Garcés, near the spot where he was martyred. He is grasping a large cross and looks paternally at a kneeling Indian who appears to be asking his blessing.

At Bakersfield, California, an heroic sculptured statue of Padre Garcés graces the center of a traffic circle on Highway 99; and, on the edge of the same city, on the bluffs above the Kern River, which Garcés discovered, the Garcés Memorial High School is a symbol of the recognition given to a resourceful teacher, Padre Francisco Garcés.

NOTES

1. Arthur Woodward, Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, to Clarence Cullimore, Apr. 1, 1953.
2. Elliot Coues, *On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer* (New York, 1900), I, 234-65.
3. Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, Calif., 1930), I, 221-26.
4. Ardis M. Walker, *Pioneer Padre of Kern—Francisco Garcés* (Bakersfield, Calif.: Kern County Hist. Soc., 1946), p. 67.
5. Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
6. Marion A. Habig, O.F.M., *Heroes of the Cross* (New York, 1939), pp. 26-28.
7. Desdemona L. Heinrich, "The Yuma Campaign" (typescript, Berkeley, Calif., 1953).
8. J. D. Arricivita, *Crónica . . .* [Mexico City, 1792], *tr.* by Brother Veronius Henry, F.S.C. (typescript, Napa, Calif., 1953).
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Chas. A. Engelhardt, *The Franciscans of Arizona* (Harbor Springs, Mich.: Holy Childhood Indian School, 1899), pp. 212-16.
12. "Colorado River Campaign, Diary of Don Pedro Fages," *ed.* by H. I. Priestley, *Publs.*, Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., III, No. 2 (1913), p. 55.
13. Pedro Fages, "Diary," *tr.* by Brother Veronius Henry, F.S.C. (typescript, Napa, Calif., 1953).
14. Arricivita, *op. cit.*
15. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 367.

16. Coues, *op. cit.*, p. 24.
17. Helen C. White, *Dust on the King's Highway* (New York, 1947), p. 468.
18. Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
19. Santiago M. Vélez, Tubutama, Sonora, México, to Clarence Cullimore, Feb. 6, 1953.
20. Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 151.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Manuel Toussaint, Dir. de Monumentos Coloniales, México, D. F., to Clarence Cullimore, Aug. 13, 1953, containing report of recent research done by R. P. Leopoldo Campos, O.F.M., Irapuato, Gto., México.
23. Former archives of the Santa Cruz College: K Leg. 16 No. 1.
24. INVENTARIO de todo lo que se contiene en el Archivo de este Apostólico Colégio de la Santa Cruz de Querétaro; ordenado este año 1772 — Siendo Guardián el M. R. P. Fr. Joseph Miguel Araujo (manuscript, in possession of Leopoldo Campos, O.F.M.), p. 129.



British Comment — As of 1849-1852

By S. LAIRD SWAGERT

(Concluded)

THE RECENTLY discovered California mines, as was pointed out early in 1849, might make prices go *up* or *down*.²⁸ The question was debatable. One thing was certain and that was the horizontal movement of population from the eastern United States toward the Pacific, as news of the discovery spread. But the “dazzling attractions” of gold had “almost blinded statistical writers” to the significance of this movement, although proprietors of farms, both large and small, had participated in it to at least one-third of the total.²⁹ Moreover, in order to pay for their mining outfits, agriculturists had been willing to sell out at 30-50% of the intrinsic value of their holdings; or, in the case of mortgages, land agents were given *carte blanche* to act for the owners. Another third of the migration consisted of “blacksmiths, whitesmiths, and other metal workers,” who were said to be “in the greatest request.” The final third was made up of “gamblers, bankrupts, and adventurers of that peculiar do-nothing class existing nowhere else but in the States, and known as ‘loafers.’”³⁰

Diminished farm produce and scarcity of manufactures, because of desertions to the mines from farms and mechanics’ benches, would, in time, have to be compensated for, and would probably cause

a demand for British capital, for British and — let us hope, above all — Irish labour, as to make emigration to the United States a better speculation than it has hitherto been. The English farmer, instead of setting up his son in the next farm to his own, and making him a direct competitor against himself and his neighbors both for land and produce . . . will find it more advantageous to venture his son and his capital in a cleared estate in the transatlantic republic.

If, again, our anticipations be well based, it cannot be long before encouragement will be offered to enterprising artisans to emigrate to the United States. The blacksmith will at no distant date find in the States not a few cold and silent smithies ready for his bellows and his hammer, the carpenter here and there an empty workshop, and the shoemaker an empty stall — all encouraged to work by customers waiting for their services.³¹

Emigration could be as debatable a subject as prices. Between 1798 and 1826, six editions of Malthus' *Essay on the Principle of Population As It Affects the Future Improvement of Society* were published. At each re-appearance, new prominence had been given to the tendency of population to increase faster than food, and to the possibility, or even advisability, of applying "preventive checks." Emigration to thinly inhabited, uncultivated areas would seem to be an adequate remedy; but uncivilized parts of the globe, Malthus pointed out, present such dangers and hardships, that "the difficulty of supporting a family might long have left the new world of America unpeopled by Europeans, if those more powerful passions, the thirst of gain, the spirit of adventure, and religious enthusiasm, had not directed and animated the enterprise . . . and enabled the first adventurers to triumph over every obstacle. . . ." ³²

Malthus died in 1834, but the question of population and of preventive checks thereto — proposed, as Malthus says, "so long ago as the times of Plato and Aristotle" — continued to excite public attention. ³³ Charles Darwin, reading the *Essay on Population* in 1838, after his long absence from England on the ship *Beagle*, wrote in his diary that not until he read Malthus did he get "a clear view of the potency of natural selection." ³⁴ Darwin was concerned with plants and animals. So was his friend A. R. Wallace, who said that he and Darwin had been led to the theory itself through Malthus' "account of the action of 'preventive checks' in keeping the population of savage races to a . . . scanty number." ³⁵

In January 1848 gold was discovered in California. The "powerful passion" for riches that at once arose among the peoples of the world, and their exodus from their homes, created in California a laboratory of unimaginable size and suddenness for the study, not, primarily, of animals and plants, but of the westward-trending representatives of *Homo sapiens*, some of whom, urged by "thirst of gain," took on characters usually associated with the so-called savage races. Nevertheless, natural selection, necessarily slow in all its gradations, here operated in the social sense with such dispatch and power that it was able to enforce considerations of restraint, thereby assuring survival. How the situation appeared to the author of an article, "The New Nation," emanating early in 1851 from Ireland, may be seen from the following:

. . . Blood is the influence of the Past — circumstance of the Present. In calculating the future career of California, it is difficult to say to which of these influences most importance is to be attached. . . . In a district stretching some five hundred

miles along the shores of the Pacific . . . a few stragglers were the only signs of human life that appeared amid a primeval solitude. All at once, gold is discovered . . . and forthwith settlers came hurtling thither like clouds of locusts. . . . From the ships they beheld a land without fruits, without cities, almost without inhabitants; but gold was in the blue mountains . . . and heedless of hunger and thirst . . . they plunged fearlessly into solitudes where the wolf . . . had reigned since the Deluge. . . .

Yet this vast, toiling, striving multitude, who had thus planted themselves apart from mankind . . . were destitute of everything. . . . Every man had to do for himself. . . . Courage became a necessity. . . . The individual energy and self-reliance thus generated are incalculable: no man in a civilized country can form an adequate conception of it, nothing in the history of colonization can parallel it. Men had no time to spend on the ordinary precautions of settlers: in all they did, it was neck or nothing — it was an absorbing, panting, furious race for gold. . . . Yet the men were equal to the emergency. Order was established in the midst of the most chaotic society that the world ever witnessed.³⁶

A year and a half later, compulsory justice in the world's "most chaotic society," was still a live subject in the British press. Commenting on recent books and articles, including Sir Roderick I. Murchison's address at the anniversary meeting of the Royal Geographic Society, a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for September 1852, pp. 508-509, informs his readers:

. . . the stream of life flowing into California has kept continually increasing. . . . The very nature of the grand-pursuit — crowding such a congeries together in a narrow space and ever and anon throwing masses of treasure into the hands of some two or three half-maddened comrades, offers powerful incentives to crime. It seems, however, that the great majority have the sense, if not the virtue, to recognize the necessity of preserving some kind of order; their ferocious justice restrains the reckless ruffianism which would probably be able to defy any other force. . . .

Statistics on emigration from the British Isles to California, the absence of which was decried in 1850 by *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* (note 29 above), became available at the time of the seventh U. S. census, the totals showing that in 1850 there were 3050 English-born persons in California, 2452 Irish, and 883 Scottish; also, 834 who were born in British America.³⁷ That English emigrants may have participated in framing laws for the California mines is brought out by T. A. Rickard (now deceased), editor of the *Mining and Scientific Press*, 1906-1922: . . . the common law of the Eastern States had no bearing upon the mining problems presented by the golden gulches of California. . . . Among the pioneers were men acquainted with mining operations, and the regulations controlling them, in

other countries, including England and Germany; in the rules of the diggers we find hints of customs peculiar to Derbyshire, Cornwall, and the Harz; it is possible therefore that to these old mining districts of Europe are owing the fundamental ideas that underlie the American law of mines as first formulated in California. . . . Such terms as "dips and angles" are of old English origin. . . .³⁸

The routes taken by the migrating stream are described at some length in the *Westminster Review* of April 1850, page 133, where opinions are expressed as to the distance and practicability of each route. Analyses showed that there "will always be a tide of persons both going and returning. Gold digging can only be carried on for about five months out of twelve, and during the idle season it would be far more economical to return to the States than to live at San Francisco. . . ." This results in an influx and efflux of large proportions. ". . . that the efflux was not caused by persons who were returning in disappointment, has been abundantly shown by the fact of their re-appearance in the United States not having led to the slightest diminution in the number of those who were still eager to emigrate. . . . There is consequently ground to calculate on a constant stream both ways." The same journal assigns the route via Panama to those going to the west coast of South America; the route via Nicaragua, to the California-bound traffic.

In an article called "The Short Cut to California," *Household Words* for March 15, 1851 (pp. 597-98), takes up the proposition of a ship canal:

More red tape! It has been an established notion, ever since the days of Cortez, that a communication between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans would be of great benefit to the whole world. Since the discovery of the treasures of California, the necessity for a ship canal has increased a hundred fold . . . cash is ready to leap from the purses of capitalists in both hemispheres; and nothing whatever stands in the way but — red tape.

The New York-chartered Atlantic & Pacific Ship Canal Co. had, in August 1849, purchased of the Nicaraguan government exclusive rights, but the company was ready, said *Household Words*, to bind itself that, upon completion, the canal would be "thrown open, on equal terms, to all the world."³⁹ The English government claims, in the name of the King of Mosquito,* a part of the river San Juan, claimed by Nicaragua, together with the port of San Juan, at the Atlantic end of the proposed canal. . . . Mr. Chatfield, the English consul . . . had written a long letter about the King of Mosquitos' boundary, and a claim on Nicaragua for

*Mosquito Coast of Honduras and Nicaragua, inhabited by the Mosquitos (Miskitos, native word for "Indians").

damage done to somebody, concluding with a warning to the Nicaraguan Government, that while the claims of the British remain unsettled, there is no hope of a ship canal. And that is every syllable we find. Not a word more is said of surveys or diggings. The whole of the great undertaking is settled down to negotiation and letter writing; and is, in short, hopelessly tied up in red tape."

This reiterates the opinion of a writer in the *Westminster Review* of the year before (April 1850, p. 134): "... there is no great likelihood that it [the canal] will attract any amount of English money . . . not only is there no disposition to enter upon the scheme among ourselves, but there is a strong tendency to suppose that others would be equally timid, and to doubt if the Americans would or even could carry it out without the aid of British capital."

The reader will remember that, after over a half-century of red tape and knots of other hues, the U. S. congress in June 1906 adopted the plan for a canal, with locks, across the Isthmus of Panama; U. S. army engineers took over the work the next year, and, without the aid of British capital, an ocean-going steamer passed through isthmian soil on August 3, 1914.

The United States was tardy in taking advantage of this long-recognized short cut to California; however, a prior instance of the area's neglect, this time at the hands of England, was mentioned by the president of the Royal Geographic Society on May 25, 1857,⁴⁰ citing as his authority the Hakluyt Society's edition of *The World Encompassed*, from which he quoted as follows: "'There is no part of earth here to be taken up wherein there is not some speciall liklihood of gold or silver.' This voyage of Drake's," President Murchison continued, "was made in 1578, and it was not til 1848 that the whole world was astounded by the discovery of the Californian goldfields."

NOTES

28. See Sept. 1953 installment of this series, pp. 270-71, 274.

29. *Chamber's Edinburgh Journ.*, Jan. 26, 1850, p. 56.

30. *Loc. cit.*

31. *Ibid.*, p. 57.

32. Thomas Robert Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population* . . . (London, 1826), II, 49-50.

33. *Ibid.*, I, Preface to 2d edition, included in 6th edition (1826).

34. Charles Robert Darwin, *His Life Told in an Autobiographical Chapter . . .*, ed. by his son Francis Darwin (New York, 1893), pp. 179-80. Darwin's *Descent of Man* did not appear until 1871.

35. Darwin, *His Life . . .*, pp. 200-201.

36. *Dublin Univ. Magazine*, XXXVII (Jan. 1851), 102-103.

37. Doris Marion Wright, "The Making of Cosmopolitan California — an Analysis of Immigration, 1848-1870," this *QUARTERLY*, XIX (Dec. 1940), 340.

38. Thomas Arthur Rickard, *Man and Metals* (New York and London, 1932), II, 620-21. A recently published paper (Rodman W. Paul, "'Old Californians' in British Gold Fields," *Huntington Libr. Quarterly*, XVII, Feb. 1954, p. 167), discussing differences in the conduct of mines as between the California and the subsequently-developed British Empire placers — to the disparagement of the former — seems to have neglected this point.

39. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty (1850), between Great Britain and the United States, guaranteed neutrality.

40. Royal Geographical Soc., *Proceedings*, I (1855-57), 469.

Gold Rush Movies

By JOHN FRANCIS McDERMOTT

WE THINK so well of our own times that some of us act as if Hollywood newsreels, travelogues, and documentaries were modern inventions. But a century ago our great-grandparents had travel pictures and educational reels that brought the distant world to them as readily as our neighborhood movies do to us. Scenic artists made long journeys to sketch with pencil and water color and oil the cities and the rivers, the strange, the quaint, the romantic corners and customs of the world. They spent weeks placing on hundreds of yards of canvas vast representations of subjects that would instruct as well as please. And night after night audiences sat for two or three hours watching such pictures unroll before their eyes, while a commentator pointed out scenes of particular interest and a pianist from time to time played "appropriate airs." The Funeral of Napoleon in Paris, the Burning of Moscow, the Antediluvian World, Jerusalem and the Holy Land, Niagara Falls and Mammoth Cave, Taylor's Campaigns in Mexico, a Whaling Voyage, a Balloon Flight from London to Mayence, a Grand Panorama of Broadway, the Hudson River, the City of New York, the Mississippi River (five pictures were done of Old Man River in the 1840's, the shortest of which was four hundred and twenty-five yards long) — these were typical subjects the moving panorama presented to audiences.

The excitement of the gold rush gave a new stimulus to newsreels. One picture of a voyage around Cape Horn was being exhibited in New York in mid-September of the first gold rush year. The spring of 1850 saw at Gothic Hall in Brooklyn a panorama of the Gold Mines of California produced by Emmert (or Eimert) and Penfield. James Wilkins' Moving Mirror of the Overland Trail, painted in Peoria by a St. Louis artist, began its tour in September 1850. Beale and Craven's Voyage to California and Return was showing at Stoppani Hall, New York, in November 1850. At St. Louis in January 1851, Charles Rogers was busy painting another panorama of the Land Route to California. February 1853 saw the opening of Ball's Model of San Francisco at 312 Broad-

way, New York. Another picture with a special publicity appeal, showing at Hope Chapel, New York, in November of this year, was still doing business the following March: Jones' Pantoscope of California had been painted not from mere artist's sketches but from fifteen hundred daguerreotypes taken by J. Wesley Jones himself.¹

By the close of 1850, the Emmert picture (or possibly a copy of it) had moved a thousand miles west to cross the Mississippi. Now owned by Maroni and Hawley, it opened at Wyman's Hall, St. Louis, on January 3, 1851. According to the advertisement in the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, the sketches by Paul Emmert had been "taken on the spot they are designed to represent." One of the proprietors, who was declared to have spent a year in California personally supervising the sketching, was to explain the views in person. The picture began with the crossing of Panama: "a bold view of the Castle of San Lorenzo — Chagres, with its harbor dotted with canoes. A full length view of the Chagres river, with its wild romantic scenery, beautiful as a dream of Arcadia; Gorgona, with its mud huts; a life-like view of the manner of crossing the Isthmus, with its picturesque scenery and deep mountain passes; and a grand view of Panama, as you enter the Gorgona gate." The second reel carried the audience as far as Acapulco. On the way, one might see "a view of the suburbs of Panama from the French hotel; Panama as seen from the bay; the Island of Toboga; a sublime view of the Volcano of Colima; the city of Acapulco." Part III was devoted to San Francisco and the route to the gold fields: now was to be seen the "Entrance to the Bay of San Francisco, (called the Golden Gate;) City of San Francisco, with its beautiful harbor and shipping, — Happy Valley; City of Benecia; Sacramento river; Sacramento City." The last section pictured "Sutter's Fort; Mormon Island; Mississippi City; Hangtown; Culloma or Sutter's Mill; Spanish Bar; Big Bar, Volcanic Bar; Rector's Bar, &c."

This "celebrated work of art," we are told, covered 18,000 feet of canvas, a statement no doubt containing some amount of press-agent's exaggeration. If the picture was ten feet high, it would have unrolled for 600 yards. One can only guess from data available for other panoramas that this one was very probably not quite so long as claimed. The advertisement also revealed with pride that the picture had been "visited in New York, Albany, Troy and Buffalo by over 130,000 persons and in Cincinnati by over 20,000, comprising the elite of those cities." Admission was fifty cents; children paid half price. Doors opened at half-past six; the panorama started moving at seven-fifteen.

Whether the picture was as good as claimed, whether St. Louisans (who were very close to the gold rush) were as avid to see representations of the fabulous spots as easterners had been, cannot be determined. Apparently there were two weeks of good business. By January seventeenth, however, attendance must have begun to fall off. An advertisement in the *Missouri Republican* for that day, under the heading "Gold for the Millions," promised a "Grand Prize Festival" for the closing night. On Saturday fifteen "splendid prizes" worth over \$200 would be given away, among which were a "gentleman's elegant detached lever gold watch, full jewelled," a lady's watch, a massive gold bracelet, an elegant Jenny Lind breast-pin, a pair of Jenny Lind earrings, a white cornelian breast-pin, and a gold thimble. All had been bought from Mr. E. Jaccard, the jeweler on Fourth Street. Persons would be selected from the audience to distribute the prizes. Prices for the prize night were raised: single tickets were doubled, but those for a lady and a gentleman were \$1.50.

Such inducements (they remind us of bank night at the movies before the last war) apparently brought good crowds, for a week later the public was promised twenty more prizes on the coming Saturday night. Moreover, to make the townspeople sure that "gold for the million" was no fake, the proprietors published the names of the lucky winners.

The next week saw that theatrical come-on, the "Last Grand Prize Entertainment," scheduled for Saturday, February first. Twenty prizes worth \$300 were flaunted before the eyes of potential patrons: diamonds, watches, a ring, and a gold toothpick, among others. Business was so good that another prize exhibition was arranged. The twenty prizes (value now risen to \$500) this time were quite different: a rose-wood melodeon, a French guitar inlaid with pearl, a six-keyed flute, a flutino, a French violin, and fifteen music manuals; and every one of the 750 tickets would carry twenty-five cents purchasing power at Nathaniel Phillips' music store. Even this did not exhaust the public, for the Gold Fields Panorama held its prize nights for three more weeks. It quit town only after a run of two months.

Since panoramas were theater business rather than art, they disappeared when their power of attraction waned and often left their only traces in a few newspaper notices. Occasionally local circumstances would cause greater interest and give rise to news reports which allow us to trace the story of the making of a picture. Probably the gold rush movie about which most is known was one made by a St. Louis artist.

James F. Wilkins, an English-born portrait painter who had settled in St. Louis about 1844, was fired by the idea that riches for him lay not in the gold fields but in a vast panorama of the road thither. He went out from St. Louis with the spring caravan in 1849 and sketched on the road "every remarkable object he met with, whether in scenery or the numberless caravans of emigrants, reaching along the whole route." He reached California in September and presently returned home by the Isthmus route. The landscape he had seen, he told the editor of the *Missouri Republican* (January 11, 1850), was "most magnificent" and would "make a picture out-rivalling the famed Panorama of the Mississippi."²

For reasons not entirely clear but probably connected with the financing of his production, Wilkins painted his Moving Mirror of the Overland Trail in Peoria.³ St. Louisans next heard of it from an unnamed fellow-citizen, who, in August, stopped in at the studio to see what progress Wilkins was making. He reported to the *Missouri Republican* (August 23, 1850) that the artist, working from nearly 200 water color drawings which had been "colored from nature on the spot," would finish his picture within a few weeks. Even now the visitor was surprised and pleased to find that the scenery of the plains, far from being wearisome and monotonous, showed great diversity and exquisite beauty. "The scenery about the Sierra Nevada in particular, is awfully terrific in its lofty grandeur. . . . Vastness is the idea generally expressed. But what will make it more interesting . . . is the manner in which it shows the stupendous difficulties the emigrant wagons have to encounter in the longest wagon travel in the world. . . . the crossing of the various rivers, and the terrific descents where it seems utterly impossible for loaded wagons to pass. All this is represented with a faithfulness and an artistic skill truly admirable."

At the opening of the panorama in Peoria on September 18, 1850, "such was the anxiety to see it that numbers were obliged to turn away ungratified." The picture was excellently received during its brief run in the Illinois town. A letter in the *Democratic Press* of Peoria on October 2, 1850, can be read as a fair sample of audience reaction:

This splendid artistical work has been exhibited in our city only six nights, owing to prior arrangements. Every night numbers had to be turned away that could not get admission. Had they continued a week longer, full houses could [still] have been obtained. We have never seen a more universal satisfaction expressed. It was remembered by those who had travelled the route delineated by Mr. Wilkins, as admirably true and correct.

I have never travelled it myself; but the green prairies, the sandy deserts, the huge masses of rock, the rushing and the gentle rivers, the snow caped [*sic*] mountains, and the emigrants winding up the steep acclivity, and descending the almost perpendicular hills with their oxen or mules, and covered wagons, are all in the mind's eye as distinctly and fresh as though I had often travelled to California.

When Mr. Wilkins commenced rolling the vast canvass⁴ and described the scenes pictured upon it, a stillness deep as the tomb itself, pervaded the multitude, and with open mouths and stretching necks they looked upon the scene as it unfolded before them, unfatigued and undesirous of reaching their journeys end. Mind, sense, all seemed wrapped up in the great Panorama before us; and anyone with a little imagination, would actually believe that he was on his way to California, instead of viewing the route. All, even the shrubbery and the solitary boulder seem accurately delineated. One moment the beautiful passes before the eye, the next the grand, then the terrific mingled with the sublime and awful. We may read of these scenes, and however accurately they may be described, we can have but a faint conception of them; but on the canvass of Wilkins they stand forth in living naturalness, just as they exist and as they have existed for centuries. We see all the dangers to which the emigrant is exposed — we can almost feel his fatigue — we can almost hear his deep breathing, after a day of perilous toils, as he sleeps in some safe and lovely spot, beneath his tent, under the shadow of a rock, or by the trunk of some giant tree. The rivers, too, they seem the living water itself, leaping and rushing amid the rocks, or flowing quietly and gently along their level beds. Mountains with their snowy tops and ragged sides, seen in the distance, gilded by the last rays of the setting sun, remind us of all that Byron or Colridge [*sic*] have written or sung of the far famed Alpine scenery. As to its being a correct delineation of the route to California, we have no doubt — as to its excelling every other Panorama that ever was exhibited, in beauty, grandeur, and sublimity of scenery, we have still less doubt, and we do not believe any person, young or old, learned or unlearned, that has seen it exhibited, but what will say that it has exceeded his most sanguine expectations. Many in this city went night after night to see it, never tiring, never fatigued, and only complaining when the exhibition ceased that they could not see it again.

On October seventh the picture opened at Wyman's Hall in St. Louis. The lengthy advertisement* in the *Missouri Republican* of that date outlined the sequences though it did not detail all the scenes in Wilkins' imposing picture. This "immense moving mirror of the Land

*The reader will see that it differs in minor respects from the notice, printed at the *Union* office and reproduced on the accompanying page, which announced the picture's opening at another hall on a later date.

Route to California by the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains" embraced:

all the scenery from the Missouri river to San Francisco, giving the public a pretty accurate knowledge of the difficulties our emigrant wagons have to encounter. Commencing at Fort Leavenworth, up the Missouri river, to old Fort Kearny, thence across the Plains by the Deserted Pawnee Village, up the Valley of the Platte to the fording of the south Fork, where the stream is nearly a mile in width, crossing Ash Hollow, to those well-known land marks — *Castle Bluffs*, *Court House Cock [Rock]* and *Chimney Rock*. We next come to those picturesque and grotesque shaped rocks of enormous size known as *Scott's Bluffs*, so vividly described by Fremont, Bryant and others, to *Fort Laramie*, where ends the first section.

THE SECOND SECTION

Commences with the fording of Laramie river, generally a deep and difficult stream to ford, to Black Hills. Here the emigrant first begins to see a little of the Elephant,⁵ and here mountain scenery commences, which continues changing into every possible variation of character, for upwards of a thousand miles. Ferrying wagons at the North Fork of the Platte —

INDEPENDENCE ROCK,

a noted landmark. A few miles further we come to the *Devil's Gate*, so called from the mountains being cleft in twain their whole breadth, in order to let pass the Sweet Water river, forming a terrific chasm, the walls of which are perpendicular and over 400 feet high. Here we first get a distant view of the

SNOWY MOUNTAINS,

The white peaks glittering in the sun, till we imperceptibly pass the

DIVIDING RIDGE

and find ourselves where the waters flow into the Pacific. Bear River Valley next claims our attention, the most fertile and home-like on the whole route. Fort Bridger, a secluded post for trading with the Indians.

SODA SPRINGS AND STEAMBOAT SPRINGS

Are well known camping places, (See Fremont's Narr.) The second section closes with a view of the

CITY OF ROCKS

so named from its resemblance to a city.

THE THIRD SECTION

Commences with the Valley of Goose Creek; we next come to the Humboldt or Mary's river, well remembered by every emigrant for its length, (down which he pursues it for 300 miles, till it sinks into the ground,) and from the poisonous waters near its sink. Sulphur spring followed by

EXHIBITION

At

IMMENSE MOVING MIRROR

OF THE LAND ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA.

BY THE SOUTH PASS OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS,

Embracing all the Scenery from the Missouri River to San Francisco.

Giving the public an accurate knowledge of the difficulties our Emigrant wagons have to encounter. Commencing at Fort Leavenworth, up the Missouri river, to old Fort Kearney, thence across the Plains by the deserted Pawnee Village, up the valley of the Platte to the fording of the south fork, where the stream is nearly a mile in width, crossing Ash Hollow, to those well-known land marks

CASTLE BLUFFS, COURT HOUSE ROCK AND CHIMNEY ROCK.

We next come to those picturesque and grotesque shaped Rocks, of an enormous size, known as

SCOTT'S BLUFF,

so vividly described by Fremont, Bryant, and others, to FORT LARAMIE, where ends the first section.

THE SECOND SECTION,

Commences with the fording of Laramie river, generally a deep and difficult stream to ford, to Black Hills. Here the Emigrant first begins to see a little of the "Elephant," and here mountain scenery commences, which continues changing into every possible variety of character, for upwards of a thousand miles. Ferrying wagons at the north fork of the Platte.

INDEPENDENCE ROCK:

A noted land mark. A few miles further up, we come to the Devil's Gate, so called from the mountains being cleft in twain their whole breadth, in order to let pass the Sweet Water River, forming a terrific chasm, the walls of which are perpendicular, and over 400 feet high. Here we first get a distant view of the

SNOWY MOUNTAINS,

The white peaks glittering in the sun, till we imperceptibly pass the

DIVIDING RIDGE:

and find ourselves where the waters flow into the Pacific. Bear River Valley next claims our attention, the most fertile and home-like on the whole route. Fort Bridger, a secluded post for trading with the Indians.

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Commences with the valley of Goose Creek. We next come to the Humboldt or Mary's River, well remembered by every Emigrant, from its length, [down which he pursues it for 300 miles, till it sinks in the ground,] and from its poisonous waters near its sink. Sulphur Springs, followed by

THE SANDY DESERT,

which is strewn with the skeletons of stock and property of every description. Repose at Carson River—Scenery on its banks. Hot springs—Valley of a thousand springs, similar to Salt Lake Valley. Canon—Terrific scenery—difficulties of the wagons. The ascent of the great Sierra Nevada; here is said to be

THE BACK BONE OF THE ELEPHANT.

Scenery awfully grand—descent of the mountains. Arrival at the GOLD MINES—Dry Diggings—Weaverville—Gold Digging—Sutter's Fort—Sacramento City—San Francisco.

The spectator, with very little assistance from the imagination, may fancy himself in an air balloon, overtaking and passing the Emigrants on the road, witnessing their distress, and seeing the country and the nature of the obstacles they have to contend with; and all with the safety and comfort of sitting at your own fireside.

The above will be exhibited at ODD FELLOWS' HALL, commencing on MONDAY EVENING, October 14th, 1850.

Doors open at 6½ o'clock—Exhibition to commence at half past 7 P. M.

ADMISSION—50 CENTS.

Printed at the Union Office.

Courtesy of Dr. Kate Gregg
and the Missouri Historical Society.

THE SANDY DESERT

Which is strewn with the skeletons of stock and property of every description. Repose at Carson river; scenery on its banks. — Hot springs; Valley of a thousand springs, similar to Salt Lake Valley. Canon; terrific scenery; difficulties of the wagons. The ascent of the great Sierra Nevada — here is said to be

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Scenery awfully grand; descent of the Mountains. Arrival at the Gold Mines. Dry Diggings; Weatherville [*sic*]; Gold Digging; Sutter's Fort; Sacramento City; San Francisco.

The spectator, with very little assistance from the imagination may fancy himself in an air balloon, overtaking and passing the emigrants on the road, witnessing their distress, and seeing the country and the nature of the obstacles they have to contend with; and all with the safety and comfort of sitting at your own fire-side.

St. Louis was a particularly good town for Wilkins' Moving Mirror, as a great part of the prosperity of the place had always been bound up with the plains and the mountains. Lately thousands of St. Louisans had gone to California — and many thousands of its citizens were represented in the far west by some member or connection of the family. "We can hardly conceive of anything so interesting to our people as a faithful sketch of such a spectacle," wrote the *Missouri Republican* on the opening day. "Very few can be, from the circumstances of the case, indifferent to the trials or fate of the Pilgrims to the land of gold. All have relations, or friends who have passed over this route within the last two years, and this painting, if sketched, as we believe it has been with fidelity, will convey more distinctly than words could do, a correct and vivid idea of the fatigues, the dangers, and anxiety to which the emigrants were and are liable."

The next day (Oct. 8, 1850) the representative of the *Missouri Republican* declared: "We had read much, and had heard more about it [the overland trail], but must confess we did not appreciate it until we saw it delineated on canvas. . . . It is not overwrought; nature has been depicted in the true and real garb."

Enthusiastic reports soon appeared elsewhere in the press. Two days after the opening "A Californian" wrote to the editor of the St. Louis *Intelligencer* that to those like himself who had seen

both the works of art and nature . . . it seemed almost impossible [in viewing the picture] that we were not again going over the same route. The plain, the mountain scenery, and the sandy desert, were again before me, with the wreck of hope and bright anticipations as portrayed upon the desert. It seemed like a dream of

former sufferings, yet filled with many bright visions of beauty. Probably no country in the world can boast of such a variety of scenery, as is found on the overland route to California, and to those who are staying away with any other idea, I can only say, you are much mistaken, as you can easily learn by a visit to this painting, or much more clearly by seeing the "Elephant" as I have done — corporeally.

Another "Citizen" told the *St. Louis Daily Union* (October 16, 1850) that "the Works of Fremont, Bryant, and others have done much to lessen the dangers incident to the journey, but they can never impress upon the mind each military pass, each dangerous river and sandy desert like this work."

In the same paper the next day was the report of "a continuous panegyric . . . kept up last night, by two ladies who sat near us, and whom we believe to be possessed of intelligence and exceedingly good taste, although they were strangers. This appeared to be their first visit and the vocabulary of encomiums was exhausted in exclamations of, 'that is pretty — that is very good — really beautiful — how grand! — wonderful! — magnificent! — dear me, that is the grandest scenery I have ever seen! — did you ever see anything so life like and natural!' Could we throw in the expressions of feeling and eloquence which accompanied these exclamations, we would paint the painting to our readers, just as it will appear in their eyes, if they pay the exhibition a visit." A writer in the *Weekly Organ and Reveille* on the same day declared that the evening before he had stood by a man "who had for years been through this section of the country, and he pointed out each hill, valley and mountain, with the expression, 'I see my old home as distinctly as if I were again there.'" On the eighteenth the *Republican* reported "this painting wins upon the public favor the more it is examined and studied. It has been visited by thousands of persons." Manuel de Franca, prominent portrait artist of St. Louis, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, old mountain man, guide, and government agent, testified heartily to its artistic merits and its accuracy.

Finally, after a run that lasted for a full month without benefit of bank nights, the Moving Mirror of the Overland Trail moved to Louisville for a run in the Ohio River towns before it was taken south for the winter.⁶

NOTES

1. For the New York and Brooklyn references, see George C. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1932 —), V, 584, 595; VI, 82, 263, 332. See

also "Lecture to Jones' Pantoscope of California etc.," this QUARTERLY, VI (June and Sept. 1927), where several of the daguerreotypes are reproduced.

2. Panoramas of the Mississippi River were painted in the 1840's by John Banvard, John Rowson Smith, Samuel Stockwell, Henry Lewis, Leon Pomarede, and one Hudson. Wilkins might possibly be referring to Lewis's picture, for the two Englishmen had shared a studio for several years.

3. His original backer and partner was a Mrs. Merrick. The St. Louis *Intelligencer* on October 12, 1850, reported that she sold her one-half interest to Judge Hunt of Peoria for \$5,000.

4. The St. Louis *Intelligencer* (October 25, 1850) gave the size as 3600 yards of canvas; the *Missouri Republican* (March 5, 1851) as 3000. Such references are to square yards. If the picture was ten feet high, then it would have been 900 or 1000 yards in length. Cut this by about one-third, and you arrive at a reasonable figure.

5. *I.e.*, to suffer pain, trouble, disappointment, disillusionment.

6. Wilkins made a return-showing in St. Louis March 5-21, 1851. No trace has been found of either the panorama or the sketches from which it was painted.

Melpomene on the Half Shell*

By DONALD C. BIGGS

"THE QUEEN OF SHEBA" was nicely ignored; in fact, the treatment smacked of genuine conspiracy.** These opera goers, who were so casual about Goldmark's "The Queen of Sheba" on the sixteenth of April 1906, were from the same stump as the sympathetic audiences who lavished gold and diamonds and good cold cash on the stars in the "histrionic palaces" of the 1850's to 1870's. San Francisco had always been known as a theater town, but San Francisco audiences were discriminating and could be perverse and temperamental. Nevertheless they loved opera. Since French and Italian works had been introduced in 1853 and 1854, hardly a year passed without some kind of operatic performance, and this 1906 company was Heinrich Conried's Metropolitan Opera Co. direct from New York, here for the second consecutive season.

Apathy had not kept the audience at home, however, nor had it sent them to another of the city's entertainments; and there was a goodly procession of carriages and motor cars to the doors of the Grand Opera House on Mission Street, between Third and Fourth. The elite were present. But the opening-night spirit was not.

There were jewels, several tiaras, a few dog collars of pearls, no dazzling display. Most of the bedazzlement would be brought from the vaults the next day. And the gowns, many from London and Paris sa-

*Aside from the then-contemporary use of a shell for theatrical purposes (viz., "Mikado on the Half Shell" at the Chutes Theater on April 17, 1906), the reader will recollect that Botticelli placed Venus in the entrancing concavity of a shell, when he painted the goddess newly risen from the sea. The chances are, therefore, that Melpomene, a mere (though tragic) muse, will not be offended by the title of this paper, but will find its use peculiarly appropriate to San Francisco, where theater audiences, instead of feeling sorry for themselves when overtaken by tragedy on an Olympian scale, accepted it more as an appetizer, in the business of living, than as the main dish.

**Unless otherwise stated, the contemporary San Francisco press has been the chief source of information for the present article, with specific citations only in instances of unusual interest.

lons, were elegant, but the lady at the St. Francis, who had, reportedly, a different Worth gown for every night of the season, certainly wore one of the less-striking creations and, almost certainly, her second-best aigrettes.

Talk in the foyer was varied: "Teddy" Roosevelt's trust busting — Standard Oil was under the gun at the moment, and the elder (the GREAT) Rockefeller had escaped to his Lakewood estate to avoid subpoena. In a speech the day before, Roosevelt had scored the muckrakers and openly attacked the press, calling for honest reporting — with sanity. Roosevelt was fearless, yes, but was he right? San Francisco had not decided. Scandal at home, too. Fremont Older of the *Bulletin* had certain evidence, and Mayor Eugene Schmitz and the politician Abraham Ruef were suspect. There was talk of political intrigue and corruption and graft. Maxim Gorky the revolutionary and his female companion had been evicted from numerous New York hotels. The lady, a Mme. Andreieva, obviously was not his wife.

There was opera talk, surely, talk of the trappings and the costumes. Conried had been reproved by his Metropolitan directors during the New York season, in March, not for extravagance but for his economies. Spend more money, he was told. The opera's assets were too high. Conried had complied, investing \$200,000 in new sets and costumes, \$40,000, according to the *Chronicle* of April 1, 1906, in "The Queen of Sheba" alone. She must have been resplendent. There was magnificent pageantry in King Solomon's gardens and temple, and a spectacular ballet which was "more or less religious."

The Queen of Sheba herself, the American Mme. Edyth Walker, sang passably well, but the cast could not rouse the audience to excitement, although it won their favor. San Francisco opera lovers, arbitrarily, had decided to defer the first-night giddiness to the seventeenth of April, when the stocky and mustachioed ex-blacksmith from Naples, Enrico Caruso, was to sing Don José in "Carmen."

Caruso, according to a *Call* reporter, attended "The Queen of Sheba" and walked in the foyer at the entr'acte. "Lady Teazle" of the *Chronicle* reported that Caruso was at the Columbia Theater at the foot of Powell Street that night, for the San Francisco première of "Babes in Toyland," that he sat in a box, relaxed, enjoying himself, and that he paid the cast the tribute of applause. But whatever his diversion on the sixteenth, Caruso sang Don José in "Carmen" on the seventeenth of April 1906, his last performance in San Francisco.

San Francisco had saved its splendor for Caruso. He sang brilliantly, wrote one critic, "with that voice that rings in your ears long after hearing it." An American, Olive Fremstad, sang the role of Carmen. The first-night spirit was truly abroad. The dresses seemed more beautiful; the jewels more sparkling and the people more interesting and interested. The lady from the St. Francis was stunning. Few people in the foyer were not talking "Carmen" and Caruso all the time. The success of the season seemed assured.

Not everyone went to the opera. Victor Herbert's "Babes in Toyland" had proved entertaining the night before, and drew fanciers of lighter music to the Columbia. "Miss Timidity," at the Tivoli, Eddy and Mason streets, was billed as "a musical eccentricity" and boasted a popular song, "Mother, Mother, Mother, Pin a Rose on Me." Farce had had a long and successful history on the San Francisco stage and might be enjoyed that night at the Majestic on Market Street, or at the Alcazar on O'Farrell. The real scorchers and crackerjacks were at the Chutes, on Fulton between Tenth and Eleventh avenues, attending Bothwell Browne's Gaiety Girls in "Mikado on the Half Shell," which, we hope, was a burlesque of a burlesque. The Chutes also had a midway and a zoo with baby lions and sacred oxen from India.

Genevieve Kane was "The Queen of the Highbinders," lurid melodrama, at the Alhambra, managed by Fred Belasco (brother of David);

MATINEE AL PARK RINK.

Market and Eighth sts

LILLIAN FRANKS, the little skating as several surprises in store for her and before she closes her visit to

AFTERNOON (WEDNESDAY) she in-ry school child in San Francisco to her exhibition of fancy skating, and a occasion all school children will be free.

Every night PROFESSOR FRANKS will wonderful FIRE DANCE. This is the time that this exhibition has been given in this city.

Friday night there will be a challenge race between little Lillian and Master Earl of Stockton for a handsome trophy.

Racing!



Racing!
Jockey
Club

THE ADMIRABLE Hundreds Request Its Rev

SOON—Sardou's Great Play, THE SON
First Time in San Francisco.



BOTHWELL BROWNE'S GAIETY GIRLS

Presenting "MIKADO, ON THE HALF SHELL,"

Imperial Russian Dancers, Ted E. Box And a Splendid Performance in the Theater Every Afternoon and Evening. A HOST OF ATTRACTIONS ON THE GROUNDS.

RARE ANIMALS IN THE ZOO. RIDE ON THE SCENIC TOURING CAR SEE TEBBETTS COAST THE CHUTES AMATEUR NIGHT THURSDAY. ADMISSION.....10c | CHILDREN.....5c

MISCELLANEOUS AMUSEMENTS

and "The Dangers of Working Girls" were revealed at the Central on Market near Eighth, where, between acts and we assume between "dangers," was vaudeville. At the Orpheum on O'Farrell Street, vaudeville filled the entire bill: black face monologue, Mlle. Lotty and her "poses plastiques," comedians, impersonators, dogs and cats.

The evening of April seventeenth 1906 drew on. Carmen, the cigarette girl turned smugglers' moll turned great lady, received her fatal wound from Don José, and, on ringing notes of passion and grief, Caruso ended the performance; the audience cheered, rose, and cheered again. On other stages, the Gaiety Girls gave their short skirts a last flounce; the working girls successfully avoided the hazards of their occupations; and the Queen of the Highbinders received her just deserts.

At fourteen minutes after five the next morning, the city by the Golden Gate felt a slight earthquake. This was followed by another. The third caused the city to rock on its foundations. Houses settled, walls cracked and crumbled. Immediately after the first shock, fires started at various places in the city; water mains had been torn loose and were useless. The gas mains had burst and were aiding the spread of the flames. The fire burned for four days, and the temperature was reported as having reached 2700 degrees Fahrenheit.

SAN FRANCISCO NO STRANGER TO EARTHQUAKE AND FIRE

In 1812 a severe convulsion was felt throughout California; many people were killed; and the Mission San Juan Capistrano was completely destroyed. In 1829 and again in 1839, earthquakes shook the village of Yerba Buena (the name was not changed to San Francisco until 1847). Gravely concerned, Frank Soulé *et al*, authors of the *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855, p. 165), allowed themselves dire speculation:

... almost every year slight shocks, and occasionally smarter ones have been felt. God help the city if any great catastrophe of this nature should ever take place! Her huge granite and brick palaces, of four, five and six stories in height, would indeed make a prodigious crash, more ruinous both to life and property than even the dreadful fires of 1849, 1850, and 1851. . . . Such a terrible calamity, however, as the one imagined, may never take place. . . .

The fires these gentlemen referred to were, indeed, calamitous. Six times within eighteen months the flimsy city fell victim to the flames. The most terrible of the fires, that of May 4, 1851, elicited comparison with the destruction of Moscow and the crumbling of Sodom, and the same authors (*ibid.*, p. 604) followed the course of the flames:

Over the marts of commerce and trade; over the altars of home, the desk, the bar, the bench; over the white bed of the maiden and the crimson couch of the creature; over the parlor and the public hall; the mart of luxury and the depot of comforts, it rolled its red tongues, licking up to the very cinders everything which had been brought or made to sustain, to embellish, or to beautify.

Of the public halls in the 1850's, at least of those designed for public entertainment, the one with the magic name of Jenny Lind, built by Tom Maguire above a saloon on Portsmouth Square, was greatly lamented. Legitimate drama had come early to San Francisco, although the "Swedish Nightingale" never did, and the united wind and flame consumed, besides the Jenny Lind, two other legitimate houses, the Adelphi and the Athenaeum.† One of San Francisco's early theaters had been the Phoenix, and, Phoenix-like in those early years, theaters were destroyed and re-appeared, enlarged, in youthful freshness. (Not for nothing does this miraculous bird adorn the city seal.) Tom Maguire rebuilt the Jenny Lind at once. Nine days after it opened, it was again destroyed.

Other theaters, built to defy the flames, thereupon appeared — a new Adelphi and the pretentious American, a structure of brick and wood, and the magnificent Metropolitan. Tom Maguire rebuilt: on October 4, 1851, the third Jenny Lind, of brick and sandstone and located on the site of the present hall of justice, was opened to the public. This theater was later sold to the city for the city hall — graft, it is said, was involved; and in 1856 came Maguire's Opera House, handsomely decorated and seating eleven hundred persons in a parquet and a dress circle. Across these boards and those of the later theaters had come the great and famous of the century: Laura Keane, Julia Dean Hayne, Adah Isaacs Menken, Edwin Booth and Junius Brutus Booth, Lola Montez, Lotta Crabtree, the Starks, Edwin Forrest, David Belasco and David Warfield. From 1850 almost until 1900, San Francisco, both in quantity and quality of legitimate theater, rivaled any city in America; in variety of entertainment, San Francisco was nonpareil.

"THE UNCERTAIN GLORY OF AN APRIL DAY!"

Thus sighed one of the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, concerned about an affair scarcely civic; but on another April day the municipality of

†A sound discussion of this period may be found in Frank L. Fenton, "The San Francisco Theater, 1850-1860," Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford Univ., 1940; see also George Rupert MacMinn, *The Theater of the Golden Era in California* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1941).

San Francisco had no time to sigh — its own glory was the thing in question.

For three days the fire of 1906 (legatee of the mid-19th century) burned out of control, and when, on the fourth day, the smoke began to clear, four square miles — approximately one-half — of the city lay in charred rubble. The gentlemen of the *Annals* had been prophetic. This time an anonymous writer in the local press used verse to express the scope and depth of his observations:

Where is the gang of yesterday?
 The Redlight's ruddy glare
 Shines not on lips incarnadine
 Nor on peroxide hair.
 The man who dallied with delights
 Along the cocktail route,
 Is lunching in the breadline and
 The gang is camping out.
 The amber glass, the giddy whirl,
 Were shattered by the shock,
 The Tenderloin is bounded now
 By ashes by the block.

Back in March 1906, Archbishop Glennen of St. Louis had solemnly pronounced on the wretched state of the theater (*Chronicle*, March 5, 1906):

To go night after night to the theater is a mark of decadence . . . night by night you rush madly to enjoy the sad procession of moral lepers exposed amid the plaudits of the multitude: the cancerous growths, the deadly vices, that destroy the souls of men. Roue and demimondaine are depicted with startling realism and men's depravity and women's shamelessness are held forth as the expressions of genius, and fit means for entertaining a Christian people. . . .

To go a step further and assign the San Francisco disaster to an "act of God" involved too many incongruities in what was spared and what consumed. Why, it was asked, should churches burn and not the headquarters for "Hotaling's whiskey"?

Of the eleven theaters in the city, only the Chutes was still standing; it re-opened May 20, 1906, with Orpheum vaudeville. This destruction of San Francisco playhouses left Oakland, with vaudeville at the Macdonough and melodrama at Ye Liberty Playhouse, to supply the amusement wants of the two cities.

Devotees of great and pure drama had been generally dissatisfied with the quality of San Francisco plays in the period immediately preceding the fire; but, beginning May fourteenth, they could palliate their sense of loss by going to see Bernhardt, who appeared for six performances at Oakland's Ye Liberty. "La Sorcière" and "La Tosca," which Victorien Sardou had written expressly for her, and "Camille" were among her offerings. Since hotel accommodations represented the scarcest commodity in Oakland at that time, Bernhardt, notwithstanding her fame and prominence, made her quarters in her private car, "Bernhardt," sidetracked at the 16th Street station in Oakland. She had experienced comparable situations: in Texas and again in Arizona, having been refused the use of theaters controlled by the powerful Frohman syndicate, the great French actress had performed in a tent.

Theaters were not built quickly — at least not the kind San Francisco had known. Much had occurred in the city since the early days of great theater men and individual ownership. The decade of the 1890's was the period of monopolies and trusts, a movement which extended naturally to the lucrative entertainment business. With the same decade had come the end of the great local stock companies and the beginning of touring companies. Gone were the days of a different *good* play every week or every two weeks.

The San Francisco *Chronicle's* drama critic in 1906 was Peter Robertson, a man of strong principle and many prejudices, most of them admirable. Robertson's favorite critical medium was the dialogue, in which he employed the Old Gentleman (a romantic to whom the past was golden), the Fellow in the Corner (a classic rationalizer to whom the status quo was comfortable), and the Candid Man (at the same time a realist and a visionary, who saw good where there was good but who demanded perfection). The device worked well, especially in the hands of an honest critic bedevilled by diverse pressures; not surprisingly, the Candid Man had the best lines.

In Robertson's "Things Theatrical" in the Sunday *Chronicle* of April 1, 1906, the Old Gentleman reminisced about the great days of drama in San Francisco, not only days of great actors but of good plays and lots of them, and he bemoaned the disappearance of resident stock companies because Frohman prohibited performance of syndicate plays by local groups. The Fellow in the Corner was forced finally to admit an unhealthy state in the theater. "Indeed," he conceded, "we don't seem to have any place a man of real taste can go regularly." And he added, "The theatrical business today is merely one of hot cross buns." "We

get the stale ones, apparently, most of the time," put in the Candid Man. "Yes, of course. We are far away from the bakery," replied the Fellow in the Corner.

The better syndicate plays came west from the New York "bakery" only during the slack late spring and summer season in New York; when they appeared in San Francisco, they were from three to four years old. The casts were frequently inferior. During the rest of the year, the syndicate depended on melodrama and frothy musicals and on its new mainstay — vaudeville. This degeneration was ignominious. To San Franciscans, having watched Edwin Booth begin and grow and develop, the syndicate offered slim fare.

No particular prominence was given to the following news item on page 2 of the San Francisco *Chronicle* for April 30, 1906:

New York, April 29. — The *Morning Telegraph* says: The most gigantic and most important combination in the history of the theatrical world, one involving a capitalization of \$50,000,000, is virtually consummated. Among the organizers of this coalition are Klaw & Erlanger, B. F. Keith, E. F. Albee, Kohl & Castle, Morris Meyerfield [Meyerfeld], Martin Beck and presumably Stair & Havlin. This group of men control a majority of the theaters in the United States which are either devoted to high-class drama or musical plays — the popular price theatricals or vaudeville — and to be without the pale of the alliance means to be the competitor of a force that has never been equaled in the amusement field. . . . The avowed objects of the combination are mutual protection, self-preservation and general regulation of the theatrical business. . . .

This was, in effect, the death knell of unorganized theater in San Francisco.

During the rebuilding of the city, finance again entered. Of the more than \$300,000,000 in losses, only slightly more than half was covered by insurance. And one can imagine that syndicate theaters were well insured. When they were rebuilt, many were equipped for a popular new invention that had amused vaudeville audiences for several years — moving pictures, which alternated with live performances. By 1917, ninety-seven movie houses were operating. That same year, four theaters offered vaudeville. Only one, the Columbia (now the Geary), offered legitimate drama.††

††E. M. Gagey in *The San Francisco Stage* (Columbia Univ. Press, 1950) discusses the influence of the theatrical syndicate on the theater in San Francisco. However, Mr. Gagey based his book on the monographs of the San Francisco Theater Research Project (San Francisco, 1938) and has reproduced the inaccuracies of those publications.

Certainly theatrical syndicates (very much with us, still) were debilitating, and, in one sense — that of removing the possibility of private competition — the earthquake and fire of 1906 may be held partially responsible for eastern domination of the San Francisco theater.

Prospecting on the Pacific Coast, 1848-1864

As Recollected by Orlando J. Hodges

Transcribed, with an Introduction,

By WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

INTRODUCTION. — Orlando J. Hodges spent the sixteen years 1848-1864 searching for gold in California and Canada. His reminiscences, transcribed below, form part of the collection of his papers now in the possession of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio, which has kindly granted permission to publish.

Previous to coming to California, Hodges, who was twenty-one in 1846, had been serving an apprenticeship as typesetter for the New York *Sunday Mercury*. The routine of work bored him, so he sought an opportunity to enlist in the First California Regiment, which was being recruited in New York City for service in the west during the Mexican War. Unanticipated obstacles delayed the departure of the regiment. Finally Hodges left the infantry and signed on for immediate service in the navy.

Within a few weeks he was at sea off Vera Cruz, aboard the 80-gun battleship *Ohio*, flagship of the Gulf squadron. In March 1847, he was assigned to shore duty, working a battery of 64-pounders during the three-day bombardment of Vera Cruz. Upon capture of the city, a brief campaign followed at the town of Trispan; then the *Ohio* returned to New York for a few days, after which she began the long voyage to California. By the end of the war she had reached the waters off the coast of Mexico. Proceeding northward, she entered the Gulf of California where some American soldiers were waiting for embarkation to Monterey. From the latter port, the vessel continued on to San Francisco. Here Hodges was mustered out of the service and found himself ashore during the excitement of the gold rush of November 1848.

After leaving the west in 1864, Hodges returned to Cleveland, Ohio. Later he became active in politics — which is not surprising, as, in his California recollections, he says that he “gave \$5 for a copy of the New York Herald containing the speeches of Webster and Hayne in the U. S. Senate on the Compromise bill which I read to a large crowd.” He served for many years as clerk of the Cleve-

land police court, and then spent several terms in the state legislature, finally becoming speaker of the house of representatives. He was also active in humanitarian movements in Ohio during the decades from 1880 to 1900, his greatest work in this field being the organization of the Cleveland Humane Society. Hodges' death occurred suddenly in Cleveland on the night of April 16, 1912, "less than five minutes after speaking, in his characteristic fashion — reminiscent of 'his city' as he knew it in the 'early thirties' " — at the annual meeting of the chamber of commerce. The *Cleveland Leader* (Apr. 17, 1912), which reported the incident, spoke of him as "the aged soldier-statesman-author" and as the city's "sole surviving veteran of the Mexican War."

Throughout the transcription that follows, the original spelling has been preserved.

ORLANDO J. HODGES' RECOLLECTIONS OF 1848-1864

When I first saw San Francisco in the fall of 1848 it was a small place with a few wood and adobe houses; seven thousand whites constituted the whole population of the territory of California except Indians. These were by no means idle for the discovery of gold during the year had set all on the move to accumulate a fortune. What few vessels were in the bay, swung to their anchors deserted. Few people were in the future great city, all that could go, were off to the mines in the mountains above. A few months after the close of the Mexican War I received an honorable discharge and a personal letter of thanks and recommendation from the hands of Commodore Thomas C. Jones commander of the Pacific Fleet for fidelity to the American service during eleven months of Shore duty, amid the excitement incident to the discovery of gold in 1848. A part of this time I was employed in marking the water course from San Francisco to the mouth of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, some fifty miles inland.

Early in the year 1849 I have often been down to the harbors entrance, hunting and fishing, meeting the incoming tide of humanity from around Cape Horn, and everywhere else by water, all eager to reach the gold mines. What exultant cheering was done when informed after their long voyages, that the mines were rich with gold, but Oh, how many realized their expectations? During the winter of 1848 I was for a few days the sole occupant of a small printing office, where I set up and printed tickets and posters for an Alcalde election and received pay at the rate of one ounce of gold dust per day, and had inducements to remain and follow the trade that I had partly learned before coming here. But gold mining absorbed about all other pursuits and in company with three others, bought a row boat, loaded it with provisions and

mining implements, and started for the mines in the mountains above, camping upon the banks of the river at night.

At Sacramento, a town of a few tents, we disposed of our boat and engaged an ox team at 40 cts per pound to haul what we could not carry to our destination some 70 miles above. The rainy season had set in making our journey a difficult and hard one, but at the end of a week our tent was set near one of the branches of the Yuba river, and we commenced to mine in primitive style with a rocker. The rain fell almost continually raising the rivers and making it unpleasant to remove the huge boulders before reaching the particles of gold below.

We toiled on with indifferent success, until our provisions were near exhausted. Wet and chilled by day — a light tent and damp blankets our covering by night. My three partners became discouraged and left for below again, leaving myself alone with the tent, a few mining tools, and a supply of flour and bacon, for less than a week. I took my rifle and accompanied them for a few miles on their return, then retraced my steps to the lonely tent that they had left. I had but few dollars worth of gold dust, and provisions at a small trading post four miles away were \$1.50 per pound but I reasoned if I could winter it out here, I would be early on the ground for a good claim in the spring when the waters would recede. On my return to camp it was my good fortune to kill my first deer. Now I was in condition to keep house for some time provided the coyotes and the few Indians in the vicinity would keep away. The rains continued for some days after my late pardners left and I was only enabled to remove my mining tools to higher ground to prevent them going down the swollen river. I was visited one day by a miner who was out hunting, and with two others were camped on the river some distance below. He said that before the rains set in, himself and pardners had worked on the middle fork of the Yuba river, some 30 miles above and had taken over an ounce of gold each day per man, but had got out of provisions and had to leave, but proposed to get a supply at the trading post, and go back at once. I excepted his invitation to go with them, and next day we all joined at the trading post and secured \$700 worth of provisions at \$1.50 per pound without any payment in advance, and we all strangers to the trader. One mule and our own backs packed the whole over the rough mountains in three days time to a high bar on the river where we soon mined enough to pay our indebtedness and buy another supply. One of the men taking the mule and going down for that purpose.

On Christmas day 1849 John Killinger of New Albany Indiana and myself concluded that we would get a supply of venison while he was gone and started off up the mountain for that purpose. We were away from camp but a few miles, when a heavy snow storm set in and we lost our course. Near evening we ascended a mountain peak to discover if possible the course to camp. The storm made it impossible for the eye to penetrate far in any direction. We descended and tramped about until night came on, and then spent a portion of our Christmas in wet clothes in the hollow of a pine tree some 2000 feet above sea level. We tried to make a fire and expended our few wet matches and gun caps without success. Morning came but not very cheerful for us, as some fifteen inches of snow had fallen during the night. We descended to another ridge below and travelled about all day the best we could, but without any indications of our camp. At night we kept by another hollow tree but not to sleep, for the weather had become colder and our frozen clothes rendered it necessary to keep awake and get all the exercise possible. It seemed a long time to us while listening to the storm raging through the tall pines about. Another morning came and with it a clear cool day, and we determined if possible to find the camp before another night, and set out with all energy we possessed for that purpose. A breakfast would have come handy then, as two days and nights of exposure without a mouthful to eat had sharpened our appetites considerable while tramping through the deep snow, over hills, hollows, and fallen timber often passing deer in secluded spots but few yards away but with no means of killing one. As we neared another night we reached a mountain peak that overlooked the river below and to our joy discovered smoke in the distance, which we concluded must be ours as we knew of no others camped within twenty miles of us. After travelling some two miles, the neighborhood of our camp was discovered and in a short time reached it after an absence of three days and two nights but found no one there. From unmistakeable signs we knew that Indians had been there and carried off some of our blankets, and the most of the venison we had smoking over the fire, still we relished what was left without taking much time to cook it.

At midnight our partners returned with more provisions, the one we left at camp starting off the second morning we were out to notify the one coming from below that we were lost and returned with him. In the vicinity of the trading post difficulties between the miners and Indians had commenced and several on both sides were killed. The Indians gen-

erally retreating to the mountains which accounted for their presence near us, but they did not visit us again.

During the winter a few others took up claims near us, but none made much over expenses owing to almost incessant storms. With the first appearance of settled weather hundreds came streaming through the woods and over mountains eager to make their fortunes. Animals for packing in the snow which covered the high mountains for a considerable portion of the year, or across bridgeless rivers, were but little use, as their own feed upon their backs made a sufficient load without adding much else. So nearly every person had from necessity to make a pack mule of himself. Many with heavy packs upon their backs were straining every nerve to reach the mountain. Those that were not accustomed to the hardships of a more than rough life often became discouraged sickened and died far away from home and were hastily buried upon the hillside, while years passed by anxious friends awaiting tidings that never came. Others who had probably led an exemplary life at home soon became reckless and eagerly embraced all the pernicious vices incident to a new country, and the excitement surrounding it. Gambling and drinking houses soon prevailed and seemed to be patronized by almost everyone, consequently violent deaths were the often result and excited but little comment. But amid all these scenes I do not believe that there ever was a class of men, of all nationalities so promiscuously thrown together, who as a general thing were more honest or ready to alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate as the early miners of California, and the term "honest miner" which in after years almost served as a reproach, was justly due them then. Many escaped convicts and "ticket of leave" men from Australia came at an early date, and soon commenced to ply their vocation, but their career was soon checked by having swift retribution meted out. A miner jury settled their cases after a fair hearing, and if guilty their forms were soon hanging from the limbs of trees. No appeal on earth could save them, and I doubt if anyone can point where the innocent suffered. Contrast it if you will, with a little later period, with California as a state, when pretended courts of justice were established and crimes of every description were perpetrated within its borders without fear of punishment, until the honest people again rose in their might to bring order out of chaos for their protection.

In the spring of 1850 our claims seemed to pay better as the water receded from the bar, and nearly an ounce per man was realized. Still

we were uneasy, by hearing reports of fabulous riches somewhere else. To verify some of them, a pardner and self "prospected" the bars for some thirty miles above and found ore on the bend of the river where in less than two hours, we extracted with our knives from the crevices of the rocks, near the water edge over \$130 in gold and every pan of dirt near would average 25 cents. With visions of unlimited wealth in the "bar" before us, we hurried back to camp and reported our success. It was decided by all except one that we should immediately take possession of our new found claim. We were to start back in the morning to secure it.

During the evening while weighing the gold we brought back, a couple of our neighbors from a bar above overheard enough of our plans to locate our new find, but we thought little of it at the time.

In the early morning a couple of us started back to secure the prize and camped a few miles from it at night. We were spreading our blankets down for a nights rest, near a huge fire of pine knots, when the two men from the bar above came up and camped with us. We suspicioned at once that they were on the same errand as ourselves, and it was only a question who would get there first, but nothing was mentioned in regard to that particular claim. Keeping a sharp eye about, so that our neighbors could take no advantage we started off in the morning up the rocky banks of the river, our neighbors slightly in the lead. When near the coveted bar, which was on the opposite side of the river from us, our neighbors increased their speed to reach a pine tree about a mile above that we had felled a couple of days before to cross upon. So soon as they were around a bend out of sight, we hastily placed a few pieces of drift wood in an eddy, and I soon had my clothes upon it, which I pushed before me while swimming across the cold river. By the time our friends reached the bar I had a fire started, a notice posted, and was in possession.

After a hearty laugh they located one below which eventually turned out the best of the two. In a short time the rivers and hills were over run with prospectors for gold. Near the bend of the river, a short distance above our new location, a trading post was started, provisions soon came down to 75 cents per pound, with the luxury of a drink of villainous whiskey for 50 cents. Occasionally we could get the Eastern papers, six weeks old for one and two dollars per copy. I once gave \$5 for a copy of the New York Herald containing the speeches of Webster and Hayne in the U. S. Senate on the Compromise bill which I read to a

large crowd. As soon as the warm weather approached we discovered that the rocks and cliffs about us were infested with rattlesnakes, a small ridge immediately behind our tent was a perfect den and many were destroyed. A floor was built some six feet from the ground, and tent spread upon it keeping our blankets free of them, these precautions saved us considerable uneasiness on their account. I drew the form of a rattlesnake on the sides of our tent with charcoal and the bar was known by that name afterwards. During the summer a canal was dug through slate rock three hundred feet, preparatory to turning the course of the river. Large rolls of cloth were purchased and made into bags, filled with soil to make a dam at the head of the bar, so as to turn the course of the river at low water. When all was completed and the course of the river turned we discovered to our astonishment that there was no gold in the river bed twenty feet from where we first prospected. Where all predicted it to be fabulously rich, no gold was found.

Before the course of the river was turned \$5,000 was offered for an individual interest and declined. Now it was a question if we realized expenses. While our pardner who refused to leave our first claim joined by two others, put in a small wing dam and took out over \$50,000 in less than three months. Well it is said that "there is a destiny that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we will."

The following winter I accumulated some \$2,000 on Deer Creek where Nevada City now stands, and in 1851 joined four others in another river venture on the Yuba where they had worked the year before with considerable success. A flume was built over the river eighteen feet wide, three feet deep and three hundred feet long to carry the water over in its low state. Lumber and other materials were high, and it cost considerable besides our own labor to accomplish it. When nearly completed the second mining dam broke away, carrying the next below, the whole coming upon us with a rush which soon obliterated about all traces of our summer work. We stood upon the bank and had a dissolving view of the whole disappearing around the bend below. Our firm was dissolved without dividends, or even assets to make one. I rolled up my blankets, taking Moses R. Edwards of Boston for a companion and started for "Canyon Creek" high up in the Sierras above, and while on the way had the grim satisfaction of seeing the famous river claim at the forks a short distance above Downieville Sierra County where a half dozen men were taking out of the river bed nearly one hundred pounds of gold per day which they deposited nightly in Craycrafts [?] saloon

for safe keeping. "Canyon Creek" was in a low defile between high mountains where the sun scarcely ever penetrated. The gold was coarse and found in spots while tunneling into the base of the mountain. Few made a success, while others nearby with equal persistence accumulated little if any above expenses. We remained here until spring with fair success. While working here considerable of a commotion was aroused by the report that a Mr. Dunbar who kept the mountain house some five miles above was missing and the house deserted. He was known to have a man with him as cook, but he could not be found. Suspicions that all was not right, was reported by the few that had crossed the mountain. Three men now mining near us, were the last known to have visited the house, and some three weeks after on Sunday the whole camp was aroused to go up and look for the missing men. These three men were not strongly suspected but were urged to accompany the crowd and done so. Some 250 or 300 men mostly armed visited the place and examined the house and woods for a time without success, and all were about to leave. By chance a hand was discovered from a deep snow bank back of the house. The three men with us were at once separated and placed under guard. The body was dug out and one of the prisoners was taken to view it when he broke down, confessed all and implicated the other two. It seems the whole were drinking and gambling. Dunbar won their money then there was a row and Dunbar was killed, all his money taken and his body buried in the snow which had melted away and led to his discovery. A miner jury was formed under a pine tree and the three men were brought before them. They criminated one another but none denied the crime. Half an hour after their bodies were left hanging to limbs of trees when we returned to camp. The cook was not found.

For years I was engaged in hydraulic mining in Nevada county, but the miner who toiled early and late in all seasons under treacherous banks received the smallest share of the proceeds for his pay. Materials were high, and heavy expenses had to be incurred before he realized anything for his labor. The basins of the hills contained the gravel deposits where gold was found surrounded by hard slate or granite rock which made it expensive to penetrate.

Tunnels through which to put sluices and drain the water from the basins were worked upon day and night for years, amid dampness and powder smoke and when completed often found worthless. Their long hard labor lost in striving for a prize in the great lottery of mining, and though the steamer carried monthly their millions to the East the miner

who toiled to enrich the world and handled thousands with all his frugality was often in debt. Still many were lucky and made small fortunes which was heralded to the world through the press while the great majority were working with sublime reliance in the great Hope before them. Under the circumstances is it to be wondered at, that a great body of the miners on the Pacific coast, were migratory and restless penetrating the arid plains and snowy mountains in search of new mines. I followed the fascinating pursuit of mining for sixteen years on the Pacific coast from the cold barren hills of British Columbia, to the extreme heat of Arizona, closing with the silver mines in Nevada, amid dangers and vicissitudes that I have no space to mention here, then resolved to visit my kindred in the East who I had not seen for the past twenty years. In the fall of 1864 I find myself at San Francisco and before stepping on board of the magnificent steamer Sacramento to leave these shores — it may be for ever I will for a moment take a retrospective glance at the past few hurried years of my life.

Yonder in the heart of this now beautiful city surrounded by all the influences that make it the peer of any in the Union, once stood the "El-dorado" and "Bella Union" familiar to the pioneer of early days, as the most reckless gambling houses probably that the world ever produced. I have seen their large halls filled to overflowing with all classes of the human species from every clime — except virtuous women. Thousands of dollars in coin and gold dust, loaded gambling tables of every known device to fleece those that hazarded their chances against them. Whiskey ran like water and crazed the brains of hundreds who were unused to its pernicious effects before the great gold excitement absorbed their whole system. A whole life of moral precepts previous to reaching this great El Dorado of the world, seemed to avail nothing with the mass wild with the excitement of the times. It seems as if man when away from the restraints of home and its surrounding influences loses all the finer feelings of his nature, and descends at time below the level of a brute. While rushing into every vortex of dissipation that the wild scenes open before him, and if ever there was a pandemonium upon earth, the gambling halls of San Francisco in early days fairly represented it. Where are now the few thousands that were with me in the early days of its eventful history? The bones of many lie buried upon the hill sides dotted over the Pacific coast, amid busy scenes they would fail to recognize if living. The bowie knife and pistol with their great prompter *Whiskey* sent many to a hurried rest. The remorseless savage

claimed a number to mingle with the past. Many have left its shores for ever. While others lead a migratory existence in search of new mines, or have gone into less exciting pursuits with health impaired by reckless exposure which would have proved fatal long since under any other climate but the beautiful one that favors the Pacific shore.

While gold and silver has enriched the world it is a question if its pursuit has not caused more privations and suffering to those who strived for its possession, and the families estranged for life, through its influence than all the happiness it ever conferred.

The Beginnings of Tanning in California

By PATRICIA M. BAUER

THE PERIOD implied by the title, "The Beginnings of Tanning in California," is roughly between 1814 and 1860, the purpose of the paper being to present a general view of the industry between those two dates. It is no easy task, on any frontier, to organize and run a business that calls for expert handling. Tanning in California was no exception, and an idea of the difficulties experienced by the pioneer tanners can perhaps best be obtained from a brief description of the process.¹

The hides are first dried and/or salted to prevent putrefaction. They are then washed, to rid them of extraneous matter such as salt, blood, dung, etc.; after this comes soaking in vats of heavy concentrate of lime in water, which loosens the hair sheaths, thus facilitating removal of the hair; next, the hides are thoroughly washed, since lime could affect the tannage unfavorably. They are now in condition for the tanning process itself, which consists of: (1) coloring, by suspension in vats of weak or old "liquor"; (2) the "handling" of the hides by placing them in a series of vats of tan liquor, progressively stronger than in (1); (3) the "dusting" of the hides with a small quantity of solid tanning material, after which they are placed in vats of freshly leached tannin. Here they remain for several weeks, allowing "bloom" — a yellowish powdery coating — to be deposited, the reaction which causes the bloom insuring a firm, hard leather. Upon completion of these steps, the hides are drained and scoured to remove the bloom from the grain. Finally, they are dried slowly, while coatings of oil are applied to keep the grain surface from drying out. After drying, each hide is impregnated with grease and is either finished in its natural color or dyed. The finishing of the leather depends upon the end product desired.

In California, the chief source of tannin extract is the tanbark oak, the general range of which on the Pacific coast extends from the Umpqua River (in southwestern Oregon) along the coastal mountains of California to, and including, Santa Barbara County, with a few isolated trees

in Ventura County. The species also occurs in the Sierra Nevada, in what is said to be the "lower yellow pine growth and upper foot hill forest," stretching from Lassen County to Devil's Gulch in Mariposa County.² It may be found growing in association with *Sequoia sempervirens*, but, as tanbark oak must have some "overhead" light, it is not at its best in the heart of the redwoods. Accordingly, Jepson defines the tree's habitat as the region where one finds a "mixed forest of broadleaf and coniferous trees," consisting of Douglas fir, madrone, Oregon post oak, California black oak, and western chinquapin.³ Tanbark oak was not listed among California's trees until the British botanist, David Douglas, visiting in and about Monterey from 1830 until 1832, saw it and gave it the name, *Quercus densiflora* (now known as *Lithocarpus densiflora*).⁴

To obtain tannin extract, the bark is peeled from the tree and then either ground (the method followed in the early days) or sliced into $\frac{1}{8}$ -inch thick (or less) pieces; next, it is placed in a series of vats, enough water being added to keep the ground bark in suspension; after which, heat is applied, the temperature progressively increasing from vat to vat until, with 212°F., removal of the last traces of tannin is assured.⁵

It will be seen that the peeling of the bark from the tanbark oak involves the destruction of the entire tree, and from time to time specialists have predicted the eventual disappearance of the species. For example, the U. S. Forest Service's annual report for 1882 stated that, "... at present rate of consumption it [tanbark oak] will not last in this state 30 years."⁶ Two years later, the agricultural experiment station at the University of California, realizing that the other native oaks were costly to strip of their bark because of "their low, sturdy and branching habit of growth," and apprehensive over the shortage that was bound to result from what it termed "the brisk demand" for tanbark oak bark, conducted experiments in the cultivation of substitute plants, on which E. W. Hilgard reported in January 1884, in the station's *Bulletin*, No. 4.* The *Pacific Coast Wood and Iron* for May 1900 expressed the opin-

*Included in the experiments were three varieties of wattles or acacias; sumac (*Rhus coriaria*); California tall sumac (*R. integrifolia*); and canaigre (*Rumex hymenosepalus*) or dock, whose root is rich in tannic acid. Hilgard pointed out the importance of developing within California "some reliable and permanent source of supply for the various purposes of the tanner, and which shall yield more quickly than the slow-growing native oak." Ten years later, he published another bulletin (No. 105), "The Canaigre, or Tanners' Dock," presenting detailed comparisons of canaigre with other tannin sources.

ion that the commercial value of tanbark oak was "very great, — so great as to threaten its extinction." Jepson stated in 1911 that there was enough tan oak to last "a little less than half a century";⁸ and the *Timberman* for June 15, 1918, estimated that, in Santa Cruz and Sonoma counties alone, 75 per cent of the stand had been peeled. However, according to a letter dated March 27, 1950, from A. L. Jacobi of the Santa Rosa Tannery, the supply of bark can be expected to last upwards of a hundred years or more, as hitherto inaccessible areas are being opened up to the peelers.⁹ These statements will give some idea how great was the interest evoked — involving also research into means for amplifying the state's natural resources — once the "beginnings" of tanning in California had matured into a thoroughgoing industry.

STEPS IN AN INDUSTRIAL INFANT'S GROWTH

Under Hispanic-Americans and Native Indians. In the highly-populated mission communities, with their assortment of animals, leather was always in demand, and certain facilities were provided to encourage its manufacture. At San Diego a fountain was set aside for tanning purposes; at Santa Clara some 2,000 hides were actually tanned as early as 1792, but very few of them were salable.¹⁰ That year, and in 1795, efforts were made to improve the output of the different centers by having artisans, skilled in tanning and the other crafts, brought to California from Mexico, whose duties were to teach the neophytes and the white apprentices the necessary techniques.¹¹ It seems clear, however, that Hispanic-American efforts to manufacture leather were unsuccessful in supplying even the local demand — in spite of the abundance of hides near each community that might have been used for the purpose. Instead, vast quantities were exported. To cite only one instance: agent Alfred Robinson wrote to his principals in the east on May 8, 1836, "... I can have the flattery to say that I have dispatched the largest cargo aboard the *Alert* ever collected on the coast of California"; among the items were 39,000 hides.¹²

As a result of Hispanic-American unfamiliarity with the fine points of leather making, most of what the missions did turn out was suitable only for crude shoes, saddles of the rougher sort, and saddle pads. From what can be ascertained, the hides were placed in a vat of tanning liquor and there they remained until cured. There was no series of vats containing liquor of varying strength, as was true of the Russian tanneries;¹³ nor were there controlled drying rooms, dyeing equipment, etc. As time went on, the records show greater provision for leather manufacture:

San Miguel's inventory for 1837 indicates a tannery house and other equipment valued at \$300; the inventory for Santa Barbara Mission, 1845, includes a tannery house and five vats.¹⁴ However, the first of these two dates follows the establishment of the Russian tannery at Fort Ross (1814); and the second is later than the founding dates of the first tanneries manned by Americans (1840 and 1843).

According to one authority, the sole leather in the shoes worn by the native Indians was tanned by themselves "in a hurried process; that is, a sham process." This he describes as follows: "They used to take a large ox-hide, gather up its corners, hang it on a tree or beam raised with posts, then fill the hide with water and oak bark, and place therein the skins to be tanned."¹⁵ It would be inaccurate to suppose that their method duplicated mission technique, for the Indians might have retained only a crude knowledge of what they had been taught.

The "Steps" Taken at Fort Ross Were Really Strides. The Russian tannery at the fort was described by one traveler, who saw it in the early 1840's, as a "shop equipped with various machines for tanning, dressing, and preparing hides, 10 meters long and 6 deep."¹⁶ Another observer called it the rear half of a large building 80 x 100 feet, located on Sandy Beach at the mouth of Fort Ross Creek.¹⁷ As to the equipment used by the Russians, Maj. Ernest Rufus, who occupied Fort Ross sometime in 1845, said that there were

six vats in all, constructed of heavy, rough redwood slabs, and each with a capacity of fifty barrels. They had all the usual appliances necessary to conduct a tannery, such as scrapers, mullers, etc., but these implements were large and rough in their make.¹⁸

The scrapers were used to remove the flesh and hair from the hides; possibly the mullers facilitated the beating of the hides, to make them pliable.

No record has been found, as yet, telling where the Russians obtained the lime that was used to prepare the hides for tanning. However, about two miles south of Olema in Marin County, in the valley of Olema Creek, is the ruin of an old lime kiln, whose history is not too clear. It was composed of at least two circular kilns and a large firebox. The limestone was obtained from an outcrop some 100 feet away. Perhaps the most curious feature of the ruin is a Douglas fir tree, which stands squarely in the middle and has been proved by tree-ring determination to be more than 100 years old. This would place active operation of the kiln well within the Russian period. (So far, no reference to it has been found in Spanish records.)¹⁹

Tanbark, as used by the Russians, was ground with a stamping machine, powered by a windmill which was situated on a hill north of Fort Ross. Major Rufus said that the stamp "was made of solid iron, and was about four inches square. It was hung upon a crank, upon the main shaft of the wind wheel, and the motion was thus given to it. It was a simple and very effective device, but required the constant attention of an operator to turn the bark and stir it up."²⁰

Fort Ross operators made the hides into "Yosefti" (fine upper leather) and soles,²¹ most of their product going to the Russian base at Sitka,²² while a small fraction was traded to the Spanish.²³ K. Khlebnikoff gives the following list of shipments of hides to Sitka for the three-year period 1827 through 1829:²⁴

1827	Brig Kiakhta	66 sole leather	
1828	" "	67 " "	20 uppers
1829	" Golovnin	90 " "	

He states further that "the tanned hides were worth 15 roubles apiece," and that "the tanner, an Aleut from Kodiak, had learned the business from the Russians; he also prepared the hides of deer and wild goats of chamois, which make excellent pantalones."²⁵ Sheepskins were not tanned; they found a ready market, even so, and it was felt that had they been tanned, they would have made good lightweight shoes for the colony at Fort Ross.²⁶

Upon consummation of the sale of their Fort Ross property to John Sutter in December 1841, the Russians left Sonoma. In the late summer of that grass- and cattle-shy year, some six months before their departure, they had disposed of 450 salted hides to the Hudson's Bay Co. for shipment to the Columbia.²⁷

AMERICAN ENTERPRISE APPLIED TO CALIFORNIA LEATHER INDUSTRY

What is presumed to have been the first American-manned tannery in the state was started in 1840 by Cyrus Alexander,²⁸ manager of the So-toyome grant in Sonoma County and later owner of the grant. Built for his own use, the tannery was small, simple in design, and situated on Fitch Mountain, Alexander Valley, in the area east of the Russian River not far from the present town of Healdsburg.²⁹ Tanbark was available from the surrounding countryside; hides were "easy to obtain" — but not lime. Alexander had befriended the "Digger" Indians and was able to prevail upon them to travel 35 miles to the coast, carrying back, in

their baskets, sea shells, to be used for lime. The sea shells were burned in a kiln and these produced, in Alexander's estimate, a good quality of lime. It is stated that the first leather he manufactured "proved a success" and that "he was now able to make his own shoes and numerous other articles."³⁰

Sutter did not find it expedient to move the Russian tanning equipment to Sacramento. (The small tanyard he built there in 1843³¹ appears to have been furnished independently of his Fort Ross purchase.) And when William Benitz first leased, and, in 1845, bought Fort Ross from Sutter, his business partner, Major Rufus,³² mentioned above, decided to manufacture leather, taking advantage of the Russian equipment and using a recipe for tanning that was in an "enchyclopaedia of scientific information" which he had brought with him.³³ He had little success with his first batch of leather. Subsequently he paid a visit to a tannery "somewhere else" and received further instructions in the process of tanning. He does not specify which tannery it was; but at this time there were, presumably, only two in the territory — one near Santa Cruz, and Cyrus Alexander's in Sonoma County. After his visit to the tannery, Rufus tried making leather again at the fort and this time with success. The nearest market for leather, according to his account, was Monterey, so he "hied himself" thither, "with his roll of leather on a pack pony," sold his product readily, and continued operating at Fort Ross for some years.³⁴

The fourth in succession of the early Sonoma tanneries was built in 1851, at Bodega, by Capt. Stephen Smith of the bark *George and Henry*. Stephen and James Fowler put up the buildings on contract for the captain;³⁵ there were three in all — two for tannage purposes and one for bark storage and for drying. During this early period, Smith's plant was the largest in Sonoma County; moreover, it is believed to have been the most extensive tannery in the state at that time. The old bark grinder is at present in a garage at Bodega Corners, Sonoma County.

Though not important from an economic standpoint, Santa Cruz County ranks second to Sonoma in relation to the historical development of the tanning industry. Paul Sweet built the first tannery in 1843, on the site of the old San Augustine Rancho in Scott's Valley, Santa Cruz County.³⁶ Tanbark was gathered in the surrounding regions, and hides were obtained from nearby ranchos or from wild cattle or deer. An official source states that the crude tannery (the vats were cut into a tree trunk), which Isaac Graham and William Vane built in the big

tree grove in 1845, was the first in California³⁷ — entirely neglecting to take into consideration the Russian tannery built at Fort Ross in 1814, Cyrus Alexander's built in 1840, and that of Paul Sweet in 1843. By the next decade, Santa Cruz County manufacturers had established outlets for their goods in San Francisco. For example, an advertisement in that city's directory for 1856-57 says that the firm of Joseph Boston, Washington Street, between Battery and Front, was the "Depot" for the Santa Cruz Tannery of Kirby, Jones & Co.; obtainable were fair and russet skirting, harness, belting, bridle and sole leather, wax and grain kips [leather made from the hides of young or small beasts]; calf, deer and sheepskins.

In the early days, the fog-free climate around Santa Clara made it a favorite place for the drying and salting of hides before they were shipped. In a letter dated San Francisco, October 14, 1841, William Glen Rae, California agent of the Hudson's Bay Co., so informed Chief-Factor John McLoughlin; and he recommended that the salting trough, build in San Francisco by the company's orders, be moved to Santa Clara, "Where," he said, "most of the hides are Collected, and where there is a Clear atmosphere."³⁸ It is not surprising, then, to find that after American occupation, Santa Clara's fair-weather points should have attracted American tanners. What is considered to have been the first such plant to be located there was owned by Brannan & Co.³⁹ Brief mention of it occurs in the *California Star* of October 23, 1847, under the caption: "FOR SALE. The whole or one half of a large and well constructed Tannery establishment, at Santa Clara. Terms cash. Apply to J. R. Robbins, D. Stark, W. Glover" — agents, appointed to settle the Mormon firm's affairs.

Of the early tanneries in the Santa Clara area, at least one was proficient enough to win a "first premium" at the California State Agricultural Society's third annual fair, held at San Jose, October 7-10, 1856, the society's *Official Report* stating (p. 33) that the "exhibition of Leather from the Tannery of Messrs. Kirby, Jones & Co., Santa Clara, afforded the Committee much pleasure in examination, as evincing skill in manufacturing equal to any tannery in the State, and reflecting great credit upon the manufacturers."

Proficiency also became the watchword for the five tanneries erected in and near Stockton. The *Alta California* of September 25, 1858, carried an item, "Tanneries in Stockton," in which are listed those of "Graham & Steward, about a mile below town, on the north bank of the

Stockton Slough; Mr. Potter, Mr. Steiner, and a French establishment, on the Mormon Slough; and Mr. Jacob Wagner, on North El Dorado street." The product consisted principally of sole leather, and saddle and harness leather. The French tannery gave most of its attention to sheepskins, some 1200 being dressed annually; as to the other Stockton tanners, they used the hides of Spanish cattle for sole leather, while saddle, harness and upper leather was manufactured chiefly from American hides. Most of the material was said to be

obtained from the slaughter houses in this city and vicinity. We should judge that from ten to twelve thousand sides were tanned from beef hides yearly in the five establishments mentioned. The bark used is obtained from the live oaks within a few miles from town, and is said to be the best article of the kind known to tanners. It is sold at from ten to fifteen dollars per cord, according to the close or loose packing of it. There can be but little doubt that with the great advantages we possess, this business will soon become an important feature in the manufacturing operations of our State. [Stockton Republican]

According to Thompson & West's *History of San Joaquin County* (Oakland, 1879, p. 71), Jacob C. Wagner's, established in 1853, was the first of the Stockton tanneries, all of them — in common with most of the pioneer tanners in this hide-endowed state — convinced of the possibility of making and/or saving money by converting the raw material into leather, themselves, instead of shipping it east for others to convert and then ship back the finished products to the point of origin on the west coast, there to put them on the market at too-high prices, as local importers found out (see below).

Likewise in the 1850's, this time in the south in the area where, eighty years before, the Franciscans had begun teaching handicrafts to the Indians, a tannery was opened by Louis Rose in a canyon near Old Town, San Diego, with the expectation that the local boom, beginning in January 1852, would continue. Rose did well at first, but the death of his manager, coupled with deflation of boom times, forced him to close in 1855.⁴⁰

In Los Angeles, in spite of the absence of tanbark oak in the vicinity and the expense of bringing it in, two Frenchmen opened a tannery at Aliso and Alameda streets in 1854, but after a few years the project was abandoned. Another small tannery, located on the west bank of the Los Angeles River, was also reported by the same authority as having had "a short life." Subsequent (1868) to the period included in the present paper, however, Messrs. Kalisher & Wartenberg's tanning yard developed into "quite an extensive establishment."⁴¹

Northward from the Los Angeles area, information on early tanning varies. In a letter to Thomas O. Larkin, dated August 15, 1843, from New Helvetia, C. W. Flügge said that he had

been informed that leather trousers do find good sale at Monterey and that you, as having business connections with almost every individual would be the proper person, to whom to sell the lot which I have presently at hand and which consists of about 25 pair. I therefor take the liberty of offering them to you for sale at \$8. a pair.⁴²

In other words, Monterey was on the receiving end for leather products — not an exporter of tanned hides. Fifteen years passed, and a statistical writer reported in the spring of 1858 that there were enough tanning establishments in Monterey, alone, to supply all the state's needs. In the fifteen years, then, between 1843 and 1858, Monterey tanning must have picked up considerably. Nevertheless, the U. S. *Census* for 1860 shows no manufacture of leather there whatever.⁴³

By way of postscript to the leather situation in Monterey and beyond the date limit of the present paper, another fifteen years passed and, in 1875, the *Handbook to Monterey and Vicinity* (pp. 21 and 99) called attention to the "industrial contributions . . . which Monterey could make had she the men of enterprise and capital to carry them out. . . ." First among the industries mentioned by the *Handbook* were tanneries, for which the necessary materials were said to be at hand and "cheaper than in most parts of the state"; limestone, for example, was abundant in the Santa Lucia Mountains (which, as part of the Coast Range, could also supply tanoak bark).

Omitting for the moment the San Francisco Bay area, so as to approach it from the north, we find a news item in the *Alta California* of April 8, 1857, stating that a tannery has been "put in operation at Union, Humboldt Bay, which is turning out a fine quality of leather."

At the junction of the Yuba and Feather rivers lies Marysville, which began to manufacture leather some five years earlier (1852) than the Humboldt Bay yard, according to the *History of Yuba County* (Oakland, 1879, p. 70). The establishment was called the Pioneer Tannery and converted "a small portion of the immense product of hides in this region . . . into leather for home consumption." It was abandoned in 1862 for no stated reason. The same authority says also that four years before (1858), Heitmann & Hoelsher undertook leather making at their Feather River Tannery on an unspecified site in Marysville; flood conditions in 1862 necessitated its removal thence to the block bounded by 8th and 9th, and M and L streets.

Further south at Sacramento, that city's participation in the leather industry included (besides Sutter's small tanyard, 1843, mentioned above) the Sacramento Tannery and Leather Factory on First Street. This was low ground and subject to overflow, which happened in February 1858, "crippling their operations, in a measure. We understand," continued the Sacramento *Daily Union* of February 27, 1858, "that the area will be filled in during the current year, so as to guard against a repetition of such an inconvenience."

That there was considerable activity in the leather-goods industry at San Francisco, central to the producing sections, may be inferred from entries in the *Directory* for 1856-57*: Joseph Boston claimed on page ix to pay the highest cash prices for choice hides; Holcombe & Doyle (later Holcombe Bros.) advertised boots and shoes of their "own manufacture," and also imported articles; Main & Winchester were said to be manufacturers as well as importers of harness, saddles, bridles, whips, collars, saddle ware, etc.; Samuel A. Wood dealt in boots and shoes, leather and shoe findings; Pollack Bros. were importers and jobbers of fancy goods, belts, buckskin gloves, gold dust bags, pistol holsters, porte monnaies . . .; Otis V. Sawyer & Co. offered leather and shoe findings . . . leather and India rubber belting; Swain's was an anatomical boot and shoe manufacturer. The same *Directory* lists tannery-supply merchants, viz., the New Bedford Oil and Camphene Works; Pacific Oil & Camphene Works; and Stott & Co. — all three of these firms offering, among other products, "tanners' and neats' foot oils." By 1860, additions to the list of leather dealers and manufacturers included Rutherford, Harris & Co.; and Beck's Tannery at the corner of 4th and Brannan, which mentioned morocco leather and bookbinders' work — and where James J. Grady's craftsmanship was especially advertised.

As to basic conditions in California's tanning industry as a whole, contemporary writers experienced some difficulty in summing it up. *Prices Current*, published weekly in San Francisco by Fitch, Rutherford & Co., complained on March 12, 1858, under the caption, OUR TANNERIES:

Time and again, we have designed to write upon this subject; but owing to our inability to obtain statistics from the right sources, we have thus far said nothing.

*On p. 99, col. 1, is listed the "Hide Company" (Rodgers [Rogers] & Fullerton, prptrs.), which Charles Welch is said to have established in 1850 "for the preparation of hides"; W. H. Rogers and Samuel Fullerton took over the company in 1855.

We have importuned almost, the parties interested in the business, and we have been met with delay. . . .

The tanneries of this State are full able to supply all its wants. There is no question about that fact. . . . The whole number of tanners in the State is about twenty-five, and from these more leather is turned out than the State requires. Imported leather, as can be perceived from our quotations, will not pay. It is all nonsense for our shippers to send us those articles which we can rear or manufacture ourselves. No invoice of leather which we have received within the last four years has paid cost and charges; and yet, in the face of this palpable fact, we are still receiving consignments of leather. . . . were we entirely dependent on importation [of oakbark] from the Atlantic States, we could bring the article from thence . . . at a cheaper rate than we could import leather. . . . we have already almost driven Eastern leather out of the market.

In the *U. S. Census* for 1860, among "Manufacturers by Counties, State of California,"⁴³ the numbers of leather-making and leather-products concerns are tabulated per county under the headings "Leather," "Boots and Shoes," "Saddlery and Harness." Shown also are the grand totals, respectively, for these three categories, viz., 28, 70, and 61. Information, however, on tanning operations in California, other than those already mentioned, is too scanty to be included here, but the picture would be incomplete if at least passing notice were not taken of the work done in Napa County. In the late 1860's, a superior quality of sheepskin, suitable for gloves, was produced in Napa City;⁴⁴ it became famous enough to be included, under the term "Napa Leather," in the 1947 edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, where the definition reads: "a. Originally a glove leather made in Napa, California, by tawing sheepskins with a soap-and-oil mixture. b. Now usually any of a type of leathers resembling the original product in softness."

Brief mention should also be made of tanning activities across the bay from San Francisco in Alameda County, where operations commenced in 1862 at the Oakgrove Tannery in East Oakland, to be followed, after the start of the 1870's, by other firms, among them the Brooklyn Tannery on 12th Street in East Oakland.⁴⁵

It will thus be seen that by the close of the period included in the present paper, the stage had been set for expansion in the tanning industry, accompanied by shifts from numerous small establishments to a few large ones, and from emphasis on certain types of products to other types — shifts that were to be expected in a region which was itself undergoing rapid expansion and change.

NOTES

1. For tanning process, see M. C. Lamb, "Leather," *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1946), XIII, 845-49.
2. George B. Sudworth, *Forest Trees of the Pacific Slope* (U.S.D.A., Forest Service, Washington, D. C., 1908), p. 321.
3. Willis Linn Jepson, "Tanneries, 1870-1901; Kind and Amount of Timber Used" (MS, Jepson materials, Forestry Dept., Univ. Calif.); and "California Tanbark Oak," U. S. Forest Service, *Bulletin* 75 (Washington, D. C., 1911), p. 8.
4. Alice Eastwood, "Early Botanical Explorers . . .," this *QUARTERLY*, XVIII (Dec. 1939), 339.
5. For tannin extraction, see *Modern American Tanning* (Chicago, 1902), I, 64, 66-67.
6. U. S. Forest Service, *An. Rept.* (Washington, D. C., 1882), III, 70-71.
7. *Pacific Coast Wood and Iron*, May 1900, p. 171.
8. Jepson, "California Tanbark Oak," *op. cit.*, p. 9.
9. Letter from A. L. Jacobi to P. M. Bauer, March 27, 1950.
10. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884), I, 457, 618.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 615.
12. Adele Ogden, "Alfred Robinson, New England Merchant in Mexican California," this *QUARTERLY*, XXIII (Sept. 1944), 199.
13. "Archivo de la Mision de Santa Barbara, 1790-1801" (MS, Bancroft Library), II, 128-29; "Archives of California, Provincial Records" (MS, Bancroft Library), III-IV (1784-1800), 220; and Frederic Hall, *The History of San Jose* (San Francisco, 1871), p. 189.
14. H. H. Bancroft, *California Pastoral, 1769-1848* (San Francisco, 1888), pp. 452-53.
15. Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
16. Eugene Duflot de Mofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast*, tr. by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur (Santa Ana, Calif., 1937), II, 251.
17. *History of Sonoma County* (San Francisco: Alley Bowen & Co., 1880), pp. 366-67.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 366. Rufus was a former officer in the Mexican army, and a member of the Swiss guards in Europe.
19. See Bliss Brown, "The Old Lime Kilns of Marin County," this *QUARTERLY*, XIX (1940), 317-22. The author gives reasons for discounting possible use of the kilns by the Russians.

20. *History of Sonoma County*, loc. cit. Rufus was alive at the time this book was written.
21. Letters of K. Khlebnikoff on America, in "Russian America" (MS, Bancroft Library), III, Pt. 2, pp. 231-32.
22. P. Tikhmeneff, "Origin of the Russian American Company . . .," tr. by M. Dobryman (MS, Bancroft Library), p. 439.
23. Nellie Stow, *The Russians in California* (San Francisco, 1929), p. 9.
24. Letters of K. Khlebnikoff (see note 21 above), 231-32.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 246.
27. Anson S. Blake, "The Hudson's Bay Company in San Francisco," this QUARTERLY, XXVIII (June 1949), 102, quoting W. G. Rae, H. B. Co.'s agent at Yerba Buena, in letter to John McLoughlin, Oct. 14, 1841.
28. Alexander had been a hunter and trapper before coming to California. There is no information on his previous tanning experience.
29. Cyrus Alexander, "Life and Times" (MS, Bancroft Library), pp. 48-49 — the only source used for this episode in the history of tanning in Sonoma. The Alexander family, residing at present in Alexander Valley, have lost their family records.
30. The estimate of the success of this leather is that given by Alexander.
31. T. J. Schoonover, *The Life and Times of General John A. Sutter* (Sacramento, 1907), p. 38. Bancroft, *History of California*, op. cit., VI, 462, says that a "regular tannery early succeeded to Sutter's primitive vats."
32. *An Illustrated History of Sonoma County* (Chicago, 1889), pp. 538-40.
33. *History of Sonoma County* (see note 17 above), p. 374.
34. *Loc. cit.*
35. Stephen and James E. Fowler, "Journal," Jan. 12, 1849-March 3, 1852 (MS, Bancroft Library), p. 202.
36. S. H. Willey, *An Historical Paper Relating to Santa Cruz . . .* (San Francisco, 1876), pp. 19-20.
37. Calif. Bur. Labor Statistics, 2d Bien. Rept., 1885-86, in *Journal*, Calif. Assembly, 27th sess., App., Vol. 7, Chap. 8, p. 283.
38. Blake, op. cit., pp. 101-102.
39. Bancroft, *California*, V, 666.
40. Harry C. Hopkins, *History of San Diego . . .* (San Diego, 1929), p. 165.
41. *History of Los Angeles County* (Oakland: Thompson & West, 1880), p. 69.
42. *Larkin Papers*, ed. by George P. Hammond (Berkeley, 1952), II, 36.
43. *Eighth [1860] Census of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1865). pp. 23-36 of section cited in text above.

44. *History of Napa and Lake Counties, California . . .* (San Francisco, 1881), pp. 279-81.

45. *The Resources of California* (ed. by J. P. H. Wentworth), Nov. 1882, p. 3, col. 2. See also *San Francisco Directory*, 1856-1857, p. 66, col. 1, for mention of earlier east-bay firm — the "Encinal Tanning Co., Alameda Co." Its "depot basement" was said to be at the corner of Washington and Battery streets in San Francisco; Danl. C. McGlynn, agent.

The Seal of the California Supreme Court

By J. N. BOWMAN

RECENTLY some credence has been given to a rumor that the design of the original great seal of California was of Masonic derivation. No foundation exists for such a rumor, since the great seal's history is continuous from December 5, 1849, to the present, and evidence of Masonic influence in its design is entirely lacking. Evidence has been found, however, that, in the early 1850's, the design of the seal for the supreme court — alone of all the state agencies — did show such influence.

On August 7, 1850, a warrant for \$80 was issued to the engraver, Albert Kuner (Küner*), in payment for having made the seal of the supreme court. The year before, he had engraved the great seal of California, and it was hoped that the known size and cost of the supreme court seal might furnish information on the probable cost of the great seal, the records on this point having been destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

Supreme court files contain no copies or descriptions of the court's seal; the only place where it can be seen is on remittiturs in county clerks' offices, the earliest impression (#1540 in the secretary of state's office) so far found being on the incorporation papers, dated July 10, 1851, of California Wesleyan College, now the College of the Pacific. Over-all diameter of the seal is 1 1/2 inches, and included in the design is a noble Roman standing beside a Masonic altar, on the front of which are the crossed compass and square (see enlargement on opposite page). In the county clerk's office at Sacramento are seals on remittiturs for 1852 and 1853 which are also of this design. The question then becomes, when was the design changed to that, or substantially that, of the present seal?

There is in the state archives a document dated November 15, 1873, bearing the impression of a seal similar in most respects to the one now

*His real name was Georg Albrecht Ferdinand Küner.

in use; consequently, somewhere in the twenty years between 1853 and 1873 the design was changed. A search for impressions of supreme court seals on remittiturs in county clerks' offices from Marysville to San Diego was then undertaken and has revealed the use of the first seal from 1850 to March 2, 1866 (in Martinez); and the first use, so far found, of a new design is on April 23 (in Stockton) of the same year. A further search in other offices could possibly narrow this transition span of eight weeks.

The new design (in Stockton, Apr. 23, 1866) shows the goddess of justice, a drape over her left shoulder, holding a sword and scales high in her left hand. Substantially this is the design of the present seals, with slight variations in the slant of the sword and in the height at which the scales are held relative to her shoulder.

The date of the purchase of the seal is unknown, but it may be inferred. By constitutional provision in 1866, the secretary of state was to furnish seals for state agencies, and a fund for "stationery, fuel, and lights" was set up by the legislature for these items for itself and for the state offices. The controller's register of warrants records that on March 16, 1866, a warrant was drawn against the "stationery, fuel and light fund" in favor of E. L. Barber for \$25 for "engraving seal." This could be the seal of the supreme court. Edmund L. Barber was listed in the San Francisco *Directory* as an "engraver" at 302 Montgomery — the only entry found which seems at all related to the seal of 1866. Why Barber, if this warrant entry refers to the supreme court seal, rather than Kuner, who made the great seal master-dies of 1849 and 1891, as well as the supreme court seal of 1850, and who was resident in the bay city in 1866, was selected, is not known. The workmanship on the new seal appears less expert than that on the old, so that cost may have been a reason.

The reason for the Masonic design on the 1850 seal is also unknown, but it may be inferred. Chief justice of the supreme court in 1850 was S. C. Hastings (later founder of Hastings College of Law). He was a member of the lodge, which was very active in state and social affairs in the 1850's; and in 1861, when the cornerstone of the new capitol building was laid, the Masonic grand lodge performed the ceremony. The prominence of the order, the wide membership in the state in the 1850's — the chief justice among them — may account for the suggestion and acceptance of the design, but nothing in the literary reliques of Judge Hastings has been found that bears on the question.

Unknown also is the reason for the change of the design in 1866; but, similarly, an inference may be made. That year there were five members of the supreme court, one of whom is reported by the grand lodge secretary to have been a member of the order. During the long pontificate of Pope Pius IX, four encyclicals against Masonry were issued, the last on September 25, 1865. From 1754 the decrees had been primarily directed against the order in Europe, where the membership offered active opposition to the clericalism of the period. In the United States the order was non-political, and in the 1850's and 1860's in California a large number of Spanish were members. Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., was not political in his activity; what can be learned of him indicates that the encyclicals were regarded as of European importance and not applicable to California conditions, and the same attitude seems to have obtained among the laity. The probable reason for the change in design was a feeling among the supreme court justices themselves, and in the legal profession, that the design of this or any lodge was inappropriate for the seal of a court of all the people. Whatever the cause may have been, the change was not based on a defect in the old seal, for in 1865 and 1866 it gave a clearer and more distinct impression than the new one.

From 1866 to the present, the supreme court seals have been practically the same.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
<i>Associate</i>		
Industrial Indemnity Co.	San Francisco	K. K. Bechtel
Pacific Gas & Electric Co.	San Francisco	Allen L. Chickering
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.	San Francisco	George L. Harding
Southern Pacific Co.	San Francisco	Allen L. Chickering
Tribune Publishing Co.	Oakland	Joseph R. Knowland
Tubbs Cordage Co.	San Francisco	George L. Harding
Wells Fargo Bank & Union Trust Co.	San Francisco	George L. Harding
<i>Patron</i>		
R. C. Force, Jr.	Diablo	Transfer of late father's membership
Ralph B. Lloyd Foundation	Beverly Hills	Continuing Ralph B. Lloyd's membership
<i>Active</i>		
Stephen S. Barrows	San Francisco	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Maurice Block	Pasadena	Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin
Mrs. LeRoy H. Briggs	San Francisco	Continuing Dr. Briggs' membership
Mrs. Robert E. Cecil	San Francisco	Mrs. Clinton DeWitt
Mrs. Newell Clement	Bishop	John N. Grant
James S. Copley	San Diego	Membership Committee
Mrs. Elie Dalmon	San Rafael	Brian Thompson
The Rev. Thornton T. Denhardt	Oakland	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
A. J. Field	Santa Paula	Mrs. R. H. Green
The Viscount Furness	London, England	Warren R. Howell
Percy C. Heckendorf	Santa Barbara	Elbert S. Conner
John Thomas Howell	San Francisco	Continuing Miss Eastwood's membership
Humboldt State College Library	Arcata	Membership Committee
Richard L. Johnson, M.D.	Sacramento	J. Roy Jones, M.D.
Hilmar O. Koefod, M.D.	Santa Barbara	Archie M. Edwards
David W. Lennihan	San Francisco	Mrs. Vincent K. Butler
Mrs. William Kenneth Lowe	Woodland	Mrs. Hugh Brown
Mrs. Frank A. Miller	Riverside	Kernan Robson
Martin E. Schrader	Oakland	Albert E. Norman

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
Miss Nell Sesnon	Menlo Park	Porter Sesnon
Arnold Smith	San Mateo	Brian Thompson
Tracy I. Storer	Davis	Membership Committee
Harry W. Sylvis	Albany, Calif.	Lawton R. Kennedy
P. E. Taylor	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Louis J. Trabucco	Piedmont	Floyd M. Lane
Ventura College Library	Ventura	Membership Committee
Mrs. Laura Retting White	San Francisco	Resuming membership
Yosemite Natural History Association	Yosemite National Park	Membership Committee

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945
William Cavalier

1947
Edna Rodden Martin
Albert Leslie Oliver

1948
Mrs. H. Spens Black
Edwin T. Blake
Helen Kinsell
William C. Latham
M. Hall McAllister
Ruby McCormick
F. J. Morin
Frank M. Ogden
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Edward T. Sheppard
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Louise A. Wormley

1949
Oscar Thomas Barber
Edward Washington Bender
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Hope Bliss
Philip Read Bradley
Eldridge Ayer Burbank

John R. Burns
Rumsey Campbell
Randolph Clement
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Edward B. Field
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Abraham P. Hanks
Thomas Norman Harvey
Virginia Utz Jobe
Arthur C. Kennedy
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
La Verne Scott Moss
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Ann May Perry
Mabel Gray Potter
William C. Sharpsteen
John Joaquin Smith
L. Deming Tilton
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950
Hawley Wetmore Beard
Katharine Esther Bennitt
George Mackey Cornwall
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Olive Martha Gould

Emily West Knowland
 Ethel A. Krook
 Abbie Hyde Lewis
 James L'Hommedieu
 Helen Flint Lyman
 William O'Hara Martin
 Haig Patigian
 Barbara Peters
 Minna Dohrmann Pischel
 Margaret James Porter
 Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
 J. D. Sweeney
 Dixon Wecter
 Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins
 Julia Stamper Berman
 Edith Ward Berwyn
 Clarence Leo Best
 Eleanor Smith Boone
 Frances Des Marais Brogan
 Ella M. Brooke
 Glada V. Elden
 Edward Lilburn Eyre
 Estelle Lyon Fay
 Lowell E. Hardy
 Grant James Hunt
 Emma T. Kessler
 Eva M. Koch
 Richard Henry McCarthy
 Arthur S. Maloon
 Emily Oliviera
 May Hawley Patterson
 Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
 Julia D. Sammer
 Louis F. Sinsheimer
 Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
 Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
 Jessie Vaughan Harrier
 Margaret N. Hart
 Flodden W. Heron
 Elizabeth Thacher Kent
 Douglas Stuart Loud
 Jean Parker McEwen
 Irving Martin
 George Lovett Merwin
 C. O. G. Miller
 John J. Newbegin
 Frank H. Norcross

Thomas Wayne Norris
 Thomas L. Phillips
 Ruth Loring Richardson
 Warren Russell
 Irving M. Scott, Jr.
 Willard Brown Thorp
 George F. Williamson
 Willis A. Zane
 Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
 Arthur John Bancroft
 Francis Edward Bishop
 Herbert Eugene Bolton
 Charles Philip Boone
 Marie Wilson Bradley
 Paul W. Brannon
 Arthur H. Breed
 LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
 Katherine Thayer Cate
 Bessie Hobart Chapman
 Frederick Herman Coon
 Florence Osterero Cullen
 Lillie E. Davis
 Jerry W. DeCou
 Alice Eastwood
 Maude Wyman Eberts
 Paul Eliel
 George August Fuhrig
 Robert B. Gaylord
 Frank Carroll Giffen
 Mary Glide Goethe
 Irene L. Goudey
 Mabel L. Holmes
 Frederick B. Kellam
 George E. Kennedy
 William James Laing
 Winifred M. Menzies
 Helen Knox Merwin
 Olga M. Meyer
 Katharine Hutchinson Post
 J. Sheldon Potter
 Laura Carmany Rulofson
 Gertrude Miller Simmons
 Lynn Townsend White

1954

Isaac Flint Chapman
 Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
 Armand Leon Hering
 Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
 Ruth Comfort Mitchell

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

For the Year Ending December 31, 1953

ONE of the rewards, and one of the most gratifying, of having served as president of the California Historical Society during the past year is being able to present, at this time, a report of highly satisfactory accomplishments and progress. The growing interest of members — and, of course, the growing membership itself — has been evident for some time. More and more visitors have entered the headquarters to view the exhibits, and more and more individuals and business firms have applied to the staff for information. To this should be added calls that have come in for advice in connection with the increasing activities of old, and the formation of new, historical societies.

The cause of this spreading influence is three-fold: a faithful and able board of directors, all of whom have devoted time and effort toward furthering the Society's interests; an increasing appreciation of the Society's work, shown alike by the membership and by the public in general; and the competence of the staff, who have accepted salaries somewhat below current business standards, and all of whom have, during the course of the year, contributed uncounted hours of extra work.

In 1953 the Society participated in the placing of three plaques: in cooperation with the junior chamber of commerce of San Francisco and the Ina Coolbrith circle, the birthplace of Jack London was marked; in cooperation with the Friends of Andrew S. Hallidie and the state park commission, the Society acted as trustee in the collection of funds to mark the site of the eastern terminus of the Clay Street hill cable railway, at which a handsome marker was placed; and, at the request of the 20th Kansas volunteers, the Society sponsored the placing of a plaque at the site of their encampment, en route to Manila, at Camp Merritt.

In June the Society joined with the citizens' committee of San Francisco in their founding-day celebration, with ceremonies at Mission Dolores, luncheon at the presidio, and an evening meeting at the public library.

The following month, with the re-publication, under one cover, of the Drake plate materials, a long need was filled. This handsome book is the twenty-fifth in the series of special publications issued by the Society; of these, only four now remain in print, so enthusiastic has been their reception.

Ten meetings were held, the February meeting being the customary

open house at the headquarters, attended this year by more than 400 members and their guests. With the spread of the membership throughout California it has been found advisable, and very pleasant, to hold meetings each year in various parts of the state, in order that members who are unable regularly to attend San Francisco meetings may meet together in their own localities and become acquainted with the Society's officers and directors. Toward this end, meetings have been held in Pasadena, Sacramento, Santa Barbara, and Saratoga; in 1953 an al fresco luncheon was held in Arcadia, on the lawn facing the newly-restored Queen Anne cottage of Lucky Baldwin. The following month, in deference to the Alameda County centennial, a luncheon was held at the Athens Athletic Club in Oakland.

Several of the directors, notably Messrs. Cross, Drury, and Knowland, publicized the Society by speaking before groups representing various activities, as did the managing director who also, as in years past, appeared on television programs, displaying items selected from the Society's rarer collections.

In agreement with general conditions, costs of operation have grown materially since the end of the war. Members' dues no longer cover these added costs, although a portion has been met by generous contributions and the assuming of a higher status of membership. Therefore, during the year, the directors created an "associate" classification of membership (annual dues, \$100), which will be offered to business firms, an increasing number of whom, because of centennials and a growing interest in publicity and advertising based upon historical backgrounds, have sought help from the Society. It is expected by the directors that, with revenues received from these associate memberships (which constitute a wholesome and a proper business expense), additional operative costs, scheduled for 1954, will be met.

Eleven regular and one special meeting of the directors were held. Officers serving in 1953 were Joseph R. Knowland, president; Francis P. Farquhar, Homer D. Crotty, and Ralph H. Cross, first, second, and third vice-presidents, respectively; Warren R. Howell, secretary; and George L. Harding, treasurer. In addition, directors elected and serving were K. K. Bechtel, Allen L. Chickering, Mrs. Richard Y. Dakin, Aubrey Drury, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D., Robert Watt Miller, William H. Orrick, Carl I. Wheat, and Mrs. Dean Witter. Staff members were Mrs. Edna Martin Parratt, managing director; Miss Gladys C. Wickson, editor of the *QUARTERLY*; James de T. Abajian, librarian; and Miss

Florence Hazard, staff assistant. To each of these directors and staff members, as to members serving on various committees, goes the gratitude of the membership as a whole.

JOSEPH R. KNOWLAND

January 22, 1954

EDITOR'S NOTE: *The annual report of the treasurer and of the librarian will appear in the June 1954 Quarterly.*

In Memoriam

NORMAN B. LIVERMORE

On December 27, 1953, Norman B. Livermore, long a member of the California Historical Society, died in Marin County.

Mr. Livermore was born in Oakland, July 20, 1872, and lived in California all of his life. He attended the University of California, but, after a year or so, he transferred to Cornell — considered at that time preëminent in its engineering courses — from which he was graduated in 1895. At college he was a member of the Psi Upsilon fraternity.

Following his graduation, Mr. Livermore worked in the General Electric Co., and later became civilian assistant on construction of fortifications for the army corps of engineers. In 1900 and 1901 he was superintendent of a water company in San Diego, after which he opened a private engineering practice in San Francisco. It was in connection with the latter that he worked on the water services planned for the City of San Francisco from sources available in the Sierra Nevada. World War I found him overseas with the U. S. army, where he attained the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Mr. Livermore's grandfather, Horatio Gates Livermore, who came to California in 1850, built the first dam and the foundation for a second dam on the American River above Folsom. The second dam was completed by his father, Horatio Putnam Livermore, the water from these dams providing the power for the Folsom power house of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. The latter subsequently acquired the properties, and in 1916 Mr. Livermore became a member of its board of directors, and, later, a member of the executive committee, a position he was filling at the time of his death.

For some years he was president of the drug firm of Coffin-Redington Co., and he became a director of the Brunswig Drug Co. when it was consolidated with Coffin-Redington in 1950.

Mr. Livermore took great interest in a number of civic and welfare organizations. He was a trustee, and for a time president, of the California Academy of Sciences, a director of the Save-the-Redwoods League, and other notable civic activities. He was also a director of the Crocker First National Bank, the California Packing Corp., Natomas Co. of California, the Fireman's Fund Indemnity Co., and Pacific Coast Aggregates, Inc. His personal affairs were handled by the corporation known as Norman B. Livermore & Co., which had become Norman B. Livermore & Sons at the time of his death.

Mr. Livermore was married to Caroline Sealy, of Galveston, Texas. Five sons survive him: Norman B., Jr., of San Rafael; George S., of San Francisco; John S., of Lima, Peru; Horatio P., of San Francisco, and Robert, of Marysville. Of his sisters, Mrs. Alfred Hurtgen lives in Berkeley; Mrs. Matthew Schmidt, in San Francisco. He was a life member of the American Society of Civil Engineers, and a Fellow of the National Geographic Society. Locally, he was a member of the Pacific-Union Club of San Francisco, and of the Meadow Club of Marin County.

Mr. Livermore was a very generous and friendly man and was known and loved by a large circle of friends, to all of whom his death represents a very distinct loss.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

MEETINGS

JOEL E. FERRIS (pres. Eastern Washington State Hist. Soc., Spokane, Wash.; dir. Seattle-First National Bank, and chairman Spokane & Eastern Div., Spokane); Oct. 8, 1953; "EARLY OUTPOSTS OF THE FUR-TRADE EMPIRE."

In May 1953 (*see* Dec. 1953 *QUARTERLY*, 377-78), the Society's guests had been entertained by an account of the restoration, now in progress, of a "Queen Anne" style cottage. Five months later, Joel E. Ferris described another building, this one built in 1810, actually during the "Georgian" period (between the third and fourth of that name), and called by its owners Spokane House. It was a trading-post—the first settlement of white men in eastern Washington—and was situated where the Spokane and Little Spokane rivers come together. Contractor and builder was Joco Finley, a respected employee of the Montreal-sponsored Northwest Co. and said to have been a "fine half-breed." Among the partners of the Northwest Co. (chartered in 1783) were Simon McTavish, Alexander Frazier, and David Thompson. The speaker separated off, from the wide field of the company's operations, the Spokane country, called, he said, "the Inland Empire, which in a general way extends from the Canadian boundary on the north well into Oregon on the south, and from the Rocky Mountains on the east to the Cascade Mountains on the west, an area larger than all the New England states."

Meanwhile, John Jacob Astor organized the Pacific Fur Co., members of whose first expedition arrived by sea at the mouth of the Columbia in 1811. There they built Astoria, to serve as a coastal base whence they could push up the Columbia

to trade with the Indians. Near the confluence of the Okanogan and the Columbia they erected their first inland post and, shortly afterwards, John Clarke, one of Astor's partners, proceeded with a well-equipped party to sound out the country beyond. As the site for his organization's up-river headquarters, Fort Spokane, he selected the land immediately adjoining the Northwest Co.'s Spokane House. Contrary to the intruders' expectations, as will be shown later, their action served to consolidate, rather than weaken, their neighbors' position.

Included in the Pacific Fur Co.'s squared-timber construction at Fort Spokane were a palisade, two block houses or bastions at diagonal corners, and, within the palisade, a four-room-and kitchen dwelling for Clarke, a large storehouse, and a comfortable house for the men—all of which were intended to impress the Indians with the superiority of the Pacific Fur Co.'s prospects over those of the more meagerly outfitted Northwest Co. But into the situation came news of the War of 1812, forcing a show-down between the rivals, with the result that on July 1 of the next year (1813) the Northwest Co. purchased the furs, goods, and properties of the Astor organization. Thereupon the purchasers moved into the larger quarters now open to them at Fort Spokane and changed its name to that of their own original post, Spokane House. (In some records, the name Fort Spokane persists.)

A period of great activity followed for the Northwest Co. Goods, formerly coming overland, now arrived at the mouth of the Columbia by sea and were paddled or portaged to Spokane House. The speaker described, from original sources, the diversions provided at the post—balls with Indian girls as partners—"no fairer in the land . . . no dancers could dance so gracefully . . ." There were other reasons for commending Spokane House: "...fine horses also and the pleasures of the chase often yielded to the pleasures of the races."

Looming on the eastern horizon with increasing clearness was the great Hudson's Bay Co. (chartered in 1670), which had been operating, so far, in the eastern half of the continent. Overtures for a merger between it and the Northwest Co. culminated, finally, in 1821, under the flag of the older company.

In 1824, Sir George Simpson, high in the councils of the Hudson's Bay Co., and Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor and governor of its properties west of the Rockies, visited Spokane House; Simpson criticised some of the things he saw: there were too many luxuries in the way of European foods and drink, brought to the post at great expense. Supplies, he thought, should be produced on the site itself. Changes followed Simpson's visit. Fort Vancouver, with McLoughlin at its head, became the center of commerce for the organization; Spokane House was closed as a trading center, and its duties were taken over by a newly erected post at Fort Colville, near Kettle Falls on the upper Columbia.

Mr. Ferris quoted from contemporary accounts (John Work of the Hudson's Bay Co., in 1826; the botanist, David Douglas, the same year; Nathaniel J. Wyeth, also of the company, in 1833; and Samuel Parker, American commissioner for

foreign missions, in 1836), in order to give his hearers an idea how Spokane House appeared to visitors after its abandonment. Before long, all traces had disappeared. Homesteaders came in. In 1881, the Northern Pacific Ry. reached Spokane, its first line coming in from the west, and the modern city of Spokane — 175,000 people at present — began its rise. Only a few miles away had once been the crude log trading-post which Joco Finley built in 1810. A group of citizens, headed by Aubrey L. White of the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, has acquired a tract of some 200 acres surrounding the historic site and has presented it to the state as part of the park system. Funds have been made available for an archaeological investigation, which, during 1950-52, under Louis Gaywood of the National Park Service, assisted by college students trained in archaeology, has brought to light now-rotted post ends, believed to be remnants of the Pacific Fur Co.'s palisade. The four sides of the enclosure (123-132 ft.) have been traced, and artifacts uncovered — pieces of Chinese porcelain and English china, forks, a razor blade, Chinese beads, metal trap parts, clay pipe fragments and fragments of either rum or whiskey bottles. The speaker had corresponded early in 1951 with officials of the Hudson's Bay Co. in London, with the hope that they would have some of the details of Spokane House's existence during their organization's occupancy, 1821-25. Father William L. Davis, S.J., professor of history, Gonzaga University, Spokane, was in England engaged in research on Father DeSmet, in the archives and files of the company, and was permitted to copy the records of day-to-day activities at Spokane House, April 15, 1822-April 20, 1823; the copies were then forwarded to Mr. Ferris by the secretary of the Hudson's Bay Co. They were of special value, Mr. Ferris stated, in connection with the archaeological work, as they showed that constructional changes had been going on during that period.

The greatest find of all was made by Ray Carlson, University of Washington archaeological student, who was seen, one afternoon, jumping and dancing in great excitement: he had found the skeletal remains of Joco Finley in a shallow grave, not more than fifteen inches beneath the ground. It had been marked, the speaker said, "by heavy rocks, which, as time passed, had fallen in and had been covered over as the land was later farmed." Hand-wrought nails, one of them coated with wood, indicated that Finley had been buried in a crude coffin, a formality not then followed in the case of Indians. Also found were a nose-piece and the frames of a pair of spectacles with a bit of glass on one side. Eventual resting-place for Joco Finley awaits development of the Spokane-House preserve. Meanwhile his skeletal remains have been placed in a box at the Eastern Washington State Historical Society Museum.

In conclusion, Mr. Ferris pointed out that fur-traders Peter Skeen Ogden and John Work "knew the New Caledonia country of northern British Columbia, the valleys of the Willamette, the Columbia and the Snake, just as they knew also the great central valley of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers in Cali-

fornia." By bounding this widely inclusive region on the east by the cordillera chain, and, on the west, by the Pacific Ocean, nature gave it "a unity far more enduring and stable" than that associated with political divisions.

ROBERT F. HEIZER (assoc. prof. anthropology, Univ. Calif., Berkeley; dir. California archaeological survey); *Nov. 12, 1953*; "SOME ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON CALIFORNIA HISTORY."

In the 1850's, the long-continued amassing of facts about man and his environment, as reported by explorers, missionaries, and others, received a tremendous impetus when gold-seekers, penetrating the hinterlands of California and Australia, came into contact with native tribes and recorded their observations in letters, diaries and official reports. Taking shape about the same time was the realization that this accelerated piling up of facts required a separate discipline, *anthropology*, one which could draw information on the evolution and behavior of man from already-established sciences — geology, paleontology, anatomy, and psychology — and then synthesize their findings.

In order to pursue his investigations in the western world, it was understandable that Dr. Heizer should make himself acquainted with the accounts and journals of such explorers as Hernando de Alarcón, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, Francis Drake, Sebastián Rodríguez Cermeño, George Vancouver, and Otto von Kotzebue, and with the records of the Franciscan missions and missionaries.

The last mentioned records, methodically kept, covered vital statistics respecting the native Indians at each mission. Dr. Sherburne Cook, the speaker said, had derived certain important results by treating the natives as a biological species, forced to adapt itself to an entirely new cultural and psychological situation. Ecological (i.e., environmental) change has been shown to cause parallel adaptations, for the purpose of survival, in the species affected. On the other hand, the change may be so profound that the organism is unable to make it. What happened to the native Indian population at the missions? Dr. Cook found, among other things, an increased mortality. For example, the death rate for adults and children rose steadily from 70 and 140 per thousand in 1700 to 85 and 167 per thousand in 1810; after which the mortality rates became progressively less. These figures were taken to indicate, in the earlier years, that the high mortality was caused in large part by the introduction of unfamiliar diseases. "Once the epidemics had run their course," said Dr. Heizer, "natural immunization ensued and the native population began the long, slow road to recovery of numbers." In this case, then, "the biological adjustment required for survival was apparently successful."

Psychological adaptation, among the predominantly unaggressive California Indians, took the form of friendly overtures toward the Caucasian intruders; they "became physically aggressive only when incited to the extreme." Desertion and flight from the missionary establishments (known as "fugitivism") constituted

the natives' maximal negative response to the hard, day-by-day work and punishment imposed by the regime. However, after secularization of the missions in 1834, group response among the natives became aggressive. By 1840, the situation was such that it became necessary to establish a military force to guard the border from Indian depredations, with forts in the main mountain passes between the central valley and the coast. The California gold rush brought large numbers of adventurers into the mother lode area, the district where Indian population-concentration lay. The onslaught of miners in 1849 was so sudden that the developing ethnic situation, as between an aroused interior-Indian population and a small, Spanish-Mexican coastal-population on the defensive, allowed no time for the native to change his orientation, as he had done in the mission period, with the result that the decline in native population between 1848 and 1880 was 82 per cent. Moreover, emigrant Americans, conscious, as Dr. Heizer pointed out, that the American frontier had been advanced westward "at great cost against Indian objections," came to California with an already-developed attitude concerning Indians; viz., that the far-western tribes were only *more* Indians on a new frontier and should be removed. Dr. Heizer said that he offered this brief statement "as a thumbnail sociological analysis" of the Indians' position in early California history, based on the cold figures of Indian mortality — not as carrying any imputation of criticism or moral judgment.

Upon disestablishment of the missionary communities in 1834, many Indians crossed the coast ranges into the interior valley and took up residence among the wild tribes of the valley floor and those of the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada. Horse-riding by the valley tribes had begun by 1800; between that date and 1855, cultural practices and traits, heretofore restricted, became diffused through village migration. Evidence of long-range native movements, said the speaker, was found in a grave some years ago, during excavations of a large Indian mound at Frémont Bend, on the right bank of the Sacramento River, not far from the mouth of the Feather. Here were discovered two pistols and a broad sword of the kind in use by the U. S. army during the Mexican War. The name of the village was determined by consulting an 1843 map of the New Helvetia boundaries, surveyed by Vioget for Sutter; and the owner of the pistols and sword was probably one of the Walla Walla Indian volunteers in Frémont's California battalion, who, dying before his warrior-brothers returned to the Columbia River, had been buried in the village near the junction of the Feather with the Sacramento. The Walla Wallas, exposed to measles in California, carried this disease with them to their homeland, its introduction appearing "to have been the spark which set off the Whitman massacre."

Another instance of identifiable weapons in a Sacramento Valley grave was the finding of a badly-rusted rifle of the type used by Napoleon's infantry. Its presence in California is explained by a series of events which began with Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in the winter of 1812, the abandonment of the arms

by the Russians, and their transfer to America as trade-stock of the Russian-American Co.; then came the appearance of one or more of these arms on the shelves in the Russian trading-center at Fort Ross, California, whence the specimen in question passed into the possession of some local Indian, who either took it, himself, or traded it into the Sacramento Valley, where its wanderings came to an end in a grave.

Once again, unknowingly, Napoleon's fine hand was felt in California, according to Dr. Heizer. He then related how Henry Christophe, Negro emperor of Haiti following its independence from Napoleon in 1811, ordered from a Connecticut manufacturer some brass military buttons, embossed on which were the outstretched wings of a phoenix, the legend "Je renais de mes cendres" (I shall arise from my ashes), and a regimental number. Christophe died in 1820; the buttons were finished but neither delivered nor paid for; so the manufacturer sold them to American fur-trading companies, who brought them to the far west as trade goods. In old village sites and graves throughout northern and central California, these phoenix buttons are occasionally found today.

Sometimes the archaeologist, serving as a technical consultant to the historian, can be the means of verifying or amplifying historical facts, such as the precise spot where an event occurred. The speaker mentioned in particular Richard K. Beardsley's excavations in Monterey, where, near the custom house, he found a cairn, still holding the base of the flagpole to which had been attached the first American flag to be raised officially in California (*See this QUARTERLY*, Sept. 1946, pp. 204-218.)

The same type of study yielded notable results at the gold-discovery site in Coloma, as described in the June 1947 *QUARTERLY*, pages 97-162. Dr. Heizer gave warm praise to Dr. Aubrey Neasham, historian for the division of beaches and parks, who was "not only the prime mover in setting up the project but also was personally responsible for making the necessary search of the documentary materials bearing upon the site."

Most recently the University of California has been able to throw new light on some of the original features at Sonoma Mission and at Fort Ross. At the former have been found unsuspected foundations of buildings and paved walkways; at Fort Ross, the original stockade line and the Russian well. Aside from enlarging the body of fact necessary in the reconstruction and repair of historic objects, such finds become new points of tourist interest.*

As to the problem of locating Francis Drake's anchorage on the California coast, an anthropological analysis, beginning in 1940, was made of the Indian customs and words mentioned in firsthand accounts; and also an archaeological examination of the contents of prehistoric village sites on the shores of Drake's Bay. The analysis of customs and words indicated that the Indians belonged to

*The results of these studies are now in print (1954): Univ. Calif. Archaeol. Survey, *Reports*, No. 23 (on Fort Ross), No. 27 (on Sonoma). [Ed.]

the "Coast Miwok" tribe. Beyond that, anthropologists have not succeeded in contributing much to solving the anchorage problem. Archaeological examination of the same area yielded negative results, as the majority of the Indian sites, known to have been occupied in the late 16th century, contained no evidence of Drake's presence. In Dr. Heizer's opinion, ". . . it is not at all improbable that Drake was in San Francisco Bay, but this is only a speculation."

New research results from the close association of anthropology with California history have only begun. "All things lose," he said, "in the battle against time, and with the rapid expansion of population the forces of destruction aimed at historic sites have also increased. . . ." It is the privilege of each of us to assist in preserving and restoring these sites; in this work "the archaeologist offers assistance in exploration and interpretation."

GIFTS OF RECOGNITION

To honor the following living persons, friends of the Society have made substantial monetary or other gifts:

Tamara Brown

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Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

- CLELAND, ROBERT GLASS. *The Place Called Sespe*. Pasadena, California Institute of Technology, 1953. 120 p. Map. \$3.50. [Photolithographic facsimile]
- COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST. *Booksellers of Early San Francisco*. Los Angeles, Ward Ritchie, 1953. xxiv, 111 p. Ports. \$10.00.
- DAKIN, SUSANNA BRYANT. *The Perennial Adventure; a Tribute to Alice Eastwood, 1859-1953*. San Francisco, California Academy of Sciences, 1954. 40 p. Ports. \$3.00. [Based on Carol Green Wilson's forthcoming biography of Miss Eastwood]
- DANA, RICHARD HENRY, JR. *An Autobiographical Sketch (1815-1842)*. Edited by Robert F. Metzdorf. Hamden, Conn., Shoe-String Press, 1953. x, 119 p. \$2.50.
- DAVIS, EDWARD J. P. *Historical San Diego, the Birthplace of California; a History of Its Discovery, Settlement, and Development*. [San Diego] 1953. 120 p. Illus. \$2.25.
- EVANS, CERINDA W. *Collis Potter Huntington*. Newport News, Mariners' Museum, 1954. Illus., map, ports. 2 vols. \$12.00.
- FULTON, ROBERT LARDIN. *Epic of the Overland; an Account of the Building of the Central and Union Pacific Railroad*. Los Angeles, N. A. Kovach, 1954. xiii, 109 p. Illus., map. \$5.00.
- GUNTER, HELEN CLIFFORD, ed. *Gunter Illustrated California History Maps*. San Francisco, John W. Gunter, 1953. Illus. 7 vols. \$60.00.
- GUZMÁN, JOSÉ MARÍA. *Breve Noticia . . . del Actual Estado del Territorio de la Alta California . . . Mexico*, Impr. de la Aguila, 1853. [México, Vargas Rea, 1953] 8 p. \$15.00. [Facsimile in portfolio]
- HUNT, ROCKWELL D. *California in the Making; Essays and Papers in California History*. Caldwell, Idaho, Caxton Printers, 1953. xiv, 325 p. \$6.00.
- JACKSON, ALONZO. *The Conquest of California; Alonzo C. Jackson's Letter in Detail of the Seizure of Monterey in 1842 and His Letter on the Final Conquest of 1846*. [New York, Edward Eberstadt & Sons, 1953] 31 p. [Privately printed]
- JANSSENS, VICTOR EUGENE AUGUST. *The Life and Adventures of Don Agustin Janssens, 1834-1856*. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1953. xi, 165 p. Illus., map, port. \$4.00.
- KROEBER, ALFRED L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Berkeley, California Book Co. [1953] xviii, 995 p. Maps, plates, ports. \$12.50. [New ed.]
- MACK, GERSTLE. *Lewis and Hannah Gerstle*. [New York] Author, 1953. 131 p. Illus., ports. [Privately printed]

- MICOLEAU, TYLER. *The Story of Squaw Valley; Including Basic Principles of the Ski Technique*. New York, A. S. Barnes, 1953. 95 p. Illus. \$4.50.
- RYDER, DAVID WARREN. *Men of Rope; Being the History of Tubbs Cordage Company; Together with an Account of Some of the Collateral Activities in Which Its Pioneer Founders Engaged*. San Francisco, Historical Publications, 1954. xviii, 146 p. Illus., ports. \$5.00.
- STELLMAN, LOUIS JOHN. *Sam Brannan, Builder of San Francisco; a Biography*. New York, Exposition Press, 1954. 254 p. \$3.50.
- TARAKANOFF, VASSILI PETROVITCH. *Statement of My Captivity Among the Californians . . . Translated From the Russian by Ivan Petroff . . .* Los Angeles, Dawson, 1953. 47 p. \$4.50.
- WALKER, JOEL P. *A Pioneer of Pioneers; Narrative of Adventures Thro' Alabama, Florida, New Mexico, Oregon, California, etc.* Los Angeles, Dawson, 1953. 20 p. \$4.00.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Mrs. Patricia M. Bauer (M.A., history major, Univ. Calif., 1951), a native of Spreckels, California, is senior library-assistant in biology at the state university, Berkeley campus. Her special field of historical research has been in forestry and lumbering.

Donald C. Biggs (b. Greenwood, Nebraska; A.B., Stanford Univ., 1950; M.A., San Francisco State College, 1951) early manifested an interest in the theater when he worked for touring stock companies in the middle west at nine years of age. In 1951, the Book Club of California published his paper on Lotta Crabtree in its series, *Pioneer Western Playbills*. Planned for future publication in the California Historical Society's *QUARTERLY* is the "Log Book of Joshua S. Vincent, 1846-47" (now in the collection of the Society), as transcribed and edited by Mr. Biggs.

For a biographical note on J. N. Bowman, historian of the central record depository, Sacramento, and a frequent contributor to this *QUARTERLY*, see the issue for December 1946, p. 379. Dr. Bowman's "The Great Seal of California," published in the *California Blue Book*, 1950, pp. 157-71, is an important contribution to California history:

Clarence Cullimore (M. Arch., Univ. So'n Calif.; Fellow, American Inst. of Architects), is a native of Jacksonville, Illinois. His books, *Santa Barbara Adobes*,

and *Old Adobes of Forgotten Fort Tejon*, reveal him as a specialist in scientific adobe construction, as well as a student of history. At present Mr. Cullimore is instructor of architecture, Bakersfield College, California.

For a biographical note on John Francis McDermott (associate professor of English, Washington University, St. Louis), at the time that the Society published his "Two Fourceaud Letters," see this QUARTERLY, June 1941, p. 191. Among his many books appearing since 1941 is *The Western Journals of Washington Irving*, which he edited, with an introduction (Norman: Univ. Oklahoma Press, 1944). A list of his other books and his contributions to periodicals is on file at this Society. Space permits mention of but two of the latter: "De Smet's Illustrator: Father Nicolas Point," *Nebraska History*, XXXIII (March 1952), 35-40, with 9 illus.; and "Henry Lewis and his Views of Western Scenery," *Antiques*, LXI (April 1952), 332-35, with 7 illus.

Harold F. Taggart will be remembered as editor (this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1951-June 1952) of Howard Middleton's correspondence, 1898-99, during his service in the Philippines with the 14th regiment, regular army. For biographical note on Dr. Taggart, see this QUARTERLY, December 1948, p. 381.

For note on William Frank Zornow, see this QUARTERLY, December 1950, pp. 380-81, in connection with his article on Jephtha H. Wade and the beginning of the transcontinental telegraph. Mr. Zornow is now assistant professor of history at Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas. Scheduled for publication early next year is his paper on the election of 1864 in California.

"British Comment as of 1849 . . ." was begun in the March 1953 QUARTERLY, accompanied by a biographical note (p. 95) on its compiler and annotator, S. Laird Swagert. The series was continued in September 1953, and is completed in the present issue.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS (see also previous lists):

A biographical account of Col. Edwin Emerson, ret., now in his eighties, appears in *Who's Who*. Also, on file at the Society is an extremely interesting type-script, prepared by him, showing the many ways, through acquaintance with prominent persons in his capacity as war correspondent and soldier and as a publisher, he has been connected with California affairs.

Shortly after graduation (M.S., Univ. Calif., 1927), John Thomas Howell, Jr., was appointed resident botanist at Rancho Santa Ana Botanic Garden. He then joined the staff of the California Academy of Sciences, becoming assistant curator of botany there in 1930 under Miss Alice Eastwood. On her retirement in January 1949, he was made curator. Mr. Howell is publisher and editor of *Leaflets of Western Botany*, in whose founding in 1932 he was associated with Miss Eastwood.

W. Turrentine Jackson (b. Ruston, La., 1915; Ph.D., Univ. Texas, 1940) took

for his doctoral thesis, "Early Exploration and Founding of Yellowstone National Park." He has taught at the University of California, Los Angeles, at Iowa State College, and at the University of Chicago, and was visiting professor of American History at the University of Glasgow, 1949-50. At present Dr. Jackson is associate professor of history, University of California, Davis. His *Wagon Roads West* was published by the University of California Press in 1952.

Mrs. Margaret Rau Koch, daughter of George J. Rau, D.D.S., and Mrs. Calista Martin Rau, is postmistress at Glenwood, California, where she spent her childhood with her maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. Edwin S. Martin. Her husband, Edward C. Koch, is a farm adviser in Santa Cruz County.

Jackson Silva, grandfather of Louis J. Silva, D.D.S., was a native of the Azores and reached San Francisco in the early 1860's aboard a whaler. He mined in California and in Nevada, and then moved to San Luis Obispo where he bought a ranch—a fortunate investment, as it served for two generations as the family home. The history of transportation, by stage and coastwise, of the county in which the ranch lies, is of special interest to Dr. Silva, the Society's new member.

Louis J. Trabucco's grandfather, Louis Trabucco, arrived in California from Italy in 1849, and went into the merchandising business in Jackson. In 1854 he moved to Mariposa County. Four years later he married Eleanor Lambroschini, recently arrived in the west from Italy, and together they operated mercantile establishments in Mt. Ophir and in Bear Valley. For almost three decades after her husband's death in 1883, Mrs. Trabucco maintained active ownership of the store in Bear Valley. At her death in Mariposa in 1923, she was 82 years of age. Another Forty-niner among Mr. Trabucco's ancestors was his maternal grandfather, James A. Ridgway. From the year of his arrival until 1862 he remained in California, then he joined the Union army. The Civil War came to a close but Ridgway continued on as an Indian fighter in the southwest. In 1868 he married Miss Catherine Mullins, who had come to Mariposa from New Orleans with her parents in the early 1850's. As offering good possibilities, the Mariposa County gold mines appealed to Ridgway, and his interest in these mines lasted until his death in 1927 at the age of 84. His wife, who survived him for three years, was 83 at the time of her death.

(Additional notes on new members will appear in the next issue of the Quarterly.)

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CALIFORNIA
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June 1954

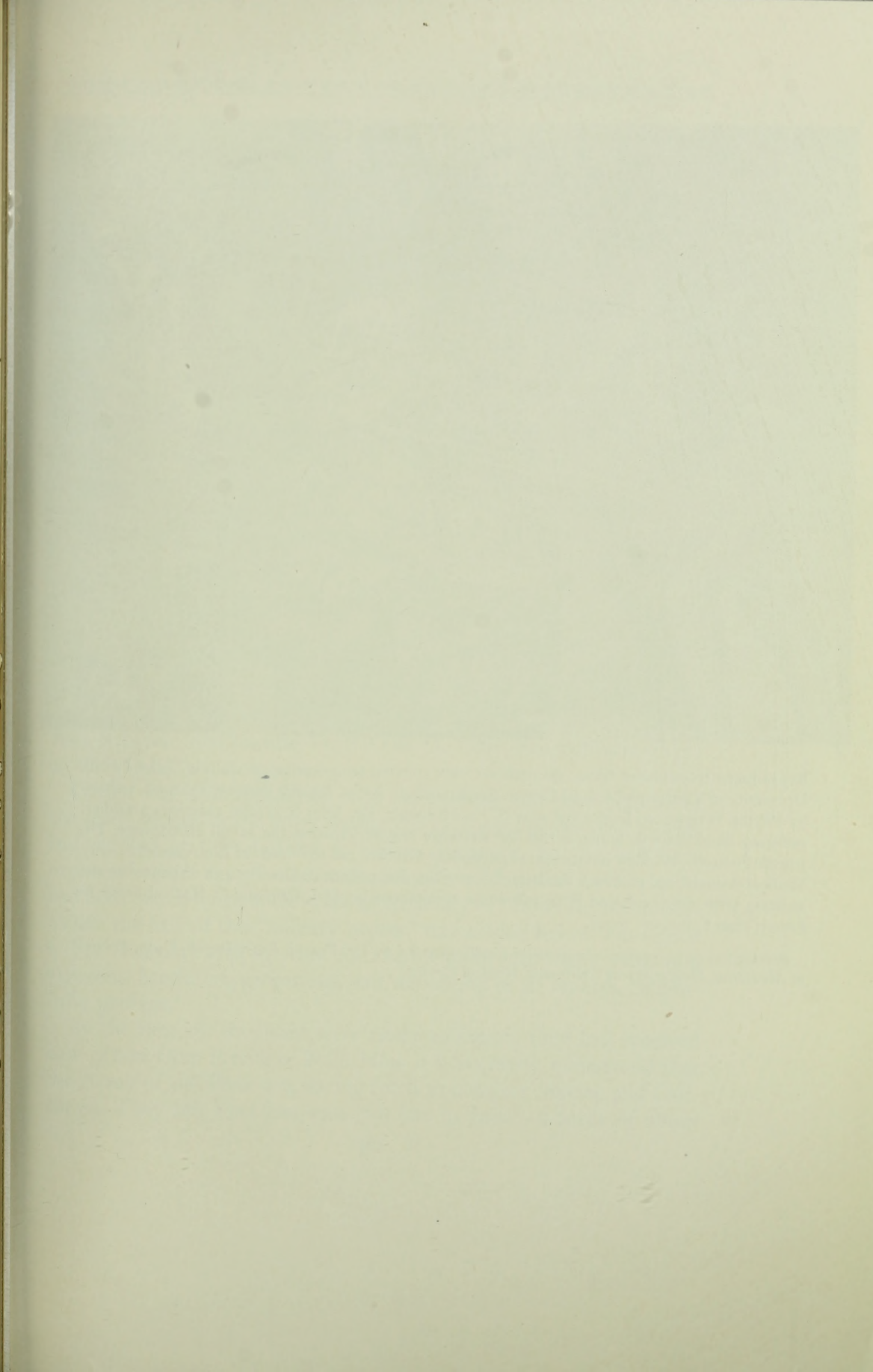
California Historical Society Quarterly

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Reproduced from one of fresco decorations, now covered temporarily, on walls of Toland Hall, University of California Medical Center, San Francisco. Artist, Boruch Barnard Zakheim, assisted by Phyllis Wrightson. Under the sign "U. S. Hospital," Dr. John S. Griffin examines a soldier, suffering from malaria, while, across the stretcher and anticipating the actual chronology, Dr. Joseph Pomeroy Widney is represented as handing Griffin a call to found the Los Angeles County Medical Association, of which the latter became the first president. Descriptions of panels by the assisting artist may be found in an otherwise anonymous booklet, *California's Medical Story in Fresco* (San Francisco, 1939).

Permission to reproduce above panel kindly granted by Dr. Francis Scott Smyth, Dean, School of Medicine, University of California Medical Center.

Dr. John S. Griffin's Mail, 1846-53

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes

By VIOLA LOCKHART WARREN

INTRODUCTION. On May 13, 1846, President Polk declared war with Mexico and ordered Col. Stephen Watts Kearny, commanding the First Dragoons at Fort Leavenworth, Indian Territory, to protect the freight caravans on the Santa Fé trail. The governor of Missouri called for volunteers, and they poured into Leavenworth by the hundreds. Kearny had spent thirty-four years with the army on the frontier and knew well what was ahead of him. He began to drill recruits, to collect supplies and armament and to prepare for transportation.

His "Army of the West" would need a competent surgeon. There was an experienced army doctor in charge of the Leavenworth hospital but he could not be taken without a replacement. Fortunately, Dr. George B. Sanderson, from England, Missouri, appeared among the volunteers and was promptly stationed at the post hospital, releasing Asst. Surgeon John Strother Griffin (M. D., Univ. Pennsylvania, 1837) to accompany the troops.

Griffin was well acquainted with the frontier, not only because of six years' service in the army during the campaign against the Florida Indians and at Fort Gibson in Indian Territory, but he had been orphaned at the age of nine, and, although a Virginian by birth,¹ he had been reared by an uncle in the frontier city of Louisville, Kentucky. When the first of the "military orders" transcribed below was signed at Fort Leavenworth on May 29, 1846, Griffin was thirty years old, vigorous, handsome, gregarious, and, according to all reports, delightfully profane.²

By the time the dragoons were ready to march, they had received new orders from President Polk. Now it was clearly understood that the Army of the West was setting forth to conquer Mexico and California. They left Fort Leavenworth late in June³—a force of about

1500 dragoons and volunteers, two companies of infantry, a detachment of topographical engineers, and 250 artillerymen. There were several hundred small, army-supply wagons and a caravan of huge, covered traders' wagons. Live stock was driven along, to provide food for the soldiers and fresh mounts for the cavalry.

The thousand-mile trail between Leavenworth and Santa Fé was well worn by the traders, so the army encountered little difficulty beyond the usual tribulations of green troops on a forced march through primitive country. They entered Santa Fé on August eighteenth without "fleshing a sabre,"⁴ but the thousand miles of mountain and desert still between them and California were completely uncharted and the hazards were colossal.

Kearny, now General Kearny, decided to take only his five companies of trusted dragoons over the rest of the route, leaving the Missouri volunteers to garrison Santa Fé and to keep the Indians under control. Dr. Griffin repacked his medical wagon, with the help of Hospital Steward B. D. French, and found for himself a blankbook in which to record the ordeal that he knew lay ahead.

He began his diary, published by this Society under the title, *A Doctor Comes to California*,⁵ with the departure from Santa Fé on September 26, 1846. He recorded the consternation of the army, ten days later, when Kit Carson met them on the trail with the news that California had already been subjugated by the Pacific squadron. Kearny reduced his army to two companies, since he would now need only an escort force, but he must go ahead to set up a civil government in the conquered territory. His surgeon drew straws with Dr. R. F. Simpson, who had joined the force, probably at Bent's Fort, to decide which one would go forward and which would return to Santa Fé with the balance of the dragoons.

By verdict of the long straw, Dr. Griffin continued westward; he packed his medical supplies in the panniers of a mule when the wagons were abandoned on the Rio Grande, and served his comrades well on California soil after the disastrous battle of San Pascual. The last half of the diary records the doctor's experiences as garrison surgeon at San Diego and for a brief period at Los Angeles.

Dr. Griffin's record covers a little less than a year, yet it is one of the most valuable of the contemporary accounts of that year's events in the southwest. His day-by-day description of the gruelling march from Santa Fé leaves little more to be said about the difficulty of opening

the west by the southern route. The dated events and blunt characterizations help to interpret the military maneuvers in the war with Mexico. Professionally, he gives testimony to the primitive health conditions and stark medical procedures of the pioneer west.

The personal thread of the diary, forceful, humorous, and modest, is completely engrossing, until it ends, without warning at the entry of August 14, 1847.

If he had continued his record, he could have illuminated the whole turbulent period of military occupation until 1853, the hectic gold rush days, the rapid influx of trained physicians into the vacuum of the new state. He did not continue, but, in his own good time, he made amends.

In Bancroft's "Pioneer Register and Index,"⁶ there is a reference to "Doc. Hist. Cal.," contributed in 1876 by Dr. Griffin for Bancroft's *History of California*. The documents are now in the Bancroft Library and are here transcribed, almost in their entirety, by courtesy of the library.

The documents consist of 222 long-hand pages—army orders, medical reports, and personal letters. Although the title-page of the collection dates the papers as "1846-47," followed by a sub-title "and especially of the Battle of San Pascual," indicating Mr. Bancroft's special interest at the time the papers were presented, nevertheless the sequence of the documents continues unbroken until November 14, 1853.⁷ The earlier papers overlap Dr. Griffin's diary, but they enrich rather than duplicate the record. When the diary comes to its sudden close on August 14, 1847, the documents explain the break, pick up the story, and continue it until the doctor's resignation from the army.

The letters, with the exception of a few first-drafts, were not written by the doctor. He had no carbon paper, and so his own letters are lost, or are still buried in the unpublished papers of the recipients.⁸ However, the communications of his friends reflect his own experiences and provide the intimacy and humor that made the diary such lively reading.

The collection divides itself naturally into three parts: San Diego Garrison, December 1846 to May 1847; Los Angeles Garrison, May 1847 to May 1849; Sonoma Garrison, May 1849 to November 1853. After the first hectic weeks in San Diego, when medical supplies were unobtainable for his wounded dragoons and the newly-arrived Mormon battalion, Dr. Griffin gets his hospital and his patients in order and then becomes restless. He has seen Los Angeles and he wants to be transferred to that more active post. His two years there were crowded with

medical emergencies and military excitement, but they became excessively long because he wanted to go north to share in the commotion of the gold fields. Sonoma was near enough to the mines for an adventure with gold, and near enough to the feverish port of San Francisco for an experiment with cargo shipping and investments in real estate. But he was still at the disposition of the army, and he was sent out again with troops, to fight the Indians on the Gila.

Seven years after the Battle of San Pascual, the assistant surgeon was ordered to Washington and given an opportunity to take the examinations for promotion to full surgeon. He did not report for the examination, preferring instead an extended leave of six months in which to visit his sisters and his old friends in Louisville.

After a short tour of duty in Washington, he resigned his commission on September 14, 1854, and returned, post haste, to Los Angeles, his favorite city from the moment he marched in as a conqueror.⁹ Here he spent the next forty-four years, as distinguished physician and community leader, until his death in 1898. He was superintendent of schools and first president of the Los Angeles County medical association. He headed a semi-military posse to preserve law and order during a period of banditry. He helped to organize the first hospital, the first bank, the first water company, the first railroad. He developed East Los Angeles, and sold his vast sheep ranch for \$7.00 an acre to the founders of the City of Pasadena.¹⁰

Dr. Griffin's achievements in Los Angeles are well documented. It is hoped that the publication of these papers from the garrison period will close the gap in a record which began in *A Doctor Comes to California* and ended, at the time of his death, in the sincere tribute of a grateful city.

Acknowledgment is made to the director of the Bancroft Library for permission to reproduce the original Griffin manuscripts in its collection; and to the anatomy department, School of Medicine, University of California, Los Angeles, and Frederick C. Gale, Jr., senior assistant, for technical aid in their transcription.

The numeral preceding each transcription indicates merely its chronological position among the Griffin items selected for publication in the present series, and is not part of the original.

PART I

SAN DIEGO GARRISON, December 1846 to May 1847

1. Military orders

Hd. Quarters, Fort Leavenworth
May 29, 1846

Asst. Surgeon Griffin will accompany the Troops. Dr. G. B. Sanderson having been engaged to perform the duties of Asst. Surgeon at the Post will receipt to Asst. Surgeon Griffin for the medl. stores &c in his possession. By order of Major Wharton.

Lt. E. E. McLean

This extract of official orders is written on the bottom of a two-page army form listing the medicines and supplies left at the Leavenworth hospital. On September 3, 1847, this duplicate was testified to and signed by E. E. McLean, Dr. and Post Asst., as a true extract, at the request of Dr. Griffin who had lost the original.

Dr. George B. Sanderson served as a civilian replacement until August first, when Lt. Col. James Allen, commanding the Mormon battalion, appointed him surgeon in the U. S. army, subject to the approval of President Polk. Colonel Allen died at the fort on August 23, and immediately Dr. Sanderson left with Lt. A. J. Smith, the new commander, to join the Mormons, already ten days out on the trail to Santa Fé. The doctor served with the Mormon battalion until May 1847, when he went to Monterey and prepared to go east with General Kearny. He resigned his commission at Leavenworth on August 31, 1847.

Major Clifton Wharton was still in command at Leavenworth in November 1847, when the regiment was reduced to one company, but he had been promoted to lieutenant colonel. He died in July 1848.

The troops consisted of five companies of U. S. First Dragoons, eight companies of First Missouri Mounted Volunteers, two of Missouri Infantry, two of light artillery, and the Laclede Rangers from St. Louis, all under the command of Col. Stephen Watts Kearny.¹¹

2. Orders

Head Qrs., Army of the West
Camp at San Bernard, Cal.
Decr 9th, 1846

Orders,

All public property now in the Camp which we have not the means of transporting to San Diego, will at once be destroyed. This course becomes necessary in order to prevent such property from falling into the hands of the enemy by whom we are now surrounded.

By order of Brig Genl S. W. Kearny
H. S. Turner, Capt A.A.A. Genl.

On December 6, three days after the dragoons had emerged from the desert, they were joined by thirty-five reinforcements from San Diego, and together they engaged the Californians in the battle of San Pasqual. It took place before dawn,¹² at a little Indian village thirty-nine miles from San Diego. The Californians, on their magnificent horses, rode down the half-starved dragoons on their stiff and broken mounts, and cut them to pieces with their six-foot, iron-shod lances. The few brief minutes of slaughter left eighteen of Dr. Griffin's men dead on the field, one missing and nineteen wounded.

During the rest of that day, Dr. Griffin and Hospital Steward French cleaned lance wounds and sutured and splinted and bandaged. Two mountain men of the company, with the help of friendly Indians, cut willow poles and stretched tent canvas to make litters for the wounded, the front end to be tied to the saddle of a mule and the rear end to drag over the rocks and cactus. When night came, the dead were buried in a common grave, and at dawn the bedraggled survivors set out for San Diego.

After an agonizing march of only six miles, the army drove the circling Californians from a little hill on the Rancho Bernardo, and stopped to make camp. Here they stayed for three days, while Kit Carson and Captain Beall of the dragoons crawled on their bellies through the California sentries to summon aid from Commodore Stockton in San Diego, and while Dr. Griffin bled and purged his patients¹³ and redressed their wounds. The soldiers called the camp "Mule Hill" because they had no food there except mule meat, and no water except rain water collected in holes in the ground.

General Kearny had two painful wounds, one in the arm and one in the buttocks, and so Capt. H. A. Turner was placed in temporary command as acting assistant adjutant general. Three days afterwards he issued the above order, but by this time Dr. Griffin had few excess medical supplies to burn. The soldiers had been tearing up their tattered shirts to provide him with bandages.¹⁴ He did lose his medical records on Mule Hill, and probably his army blanks and medical handbooks. At least, he spent the next two years in California trying to find replacements.

3. Estimates for Medicines, Instruments, Books, Hospital stores, Bedding &c for six hundred men, in the service of the United States, for four months.

San Diego, California Dec. 16th, 1846
John S. Griffin, Asst. Surgeon, U.S. Army

This is a three-page list, three columns to a page, on a hand-ruled form — impractical to print in its entirety. Dr. Griffin prepared the estimate as a shopping list for Quartermaster Swords, who was to sail for the Sandwich Islands in search of supplies. Not only were the dragoons in desperate need of food, equipment and supplies of all kinds, but the Mormon battalion, consisting of 350 foot soldiers, in bad shape from their 2000 mile trek, was due to arrive in San Diego on the following January twenty-fifth.

Although the surgeons of the navy ships in harbor had shared their meager supplies generously, they could not provide for the army indefinitely or in such large quantity, and there was no other resource on the Pacific coast. There was no drug store or hospital in all of California in 1846, and only five trained physicians: the Irish Richard Den of Los Angeles, the English Edward Bale retired on his Napa Valley ranch, the overland pioneer John Townsend in San Francisco, the French Alfredo Anselin lately of General Castro's Mexican army, and Navy Surgeon Edward Gilchrist, formerly of the *Cyane* but now surgeon for Frémont's forces.

One is reminded of another medical emergency¹⁵ on the San Diego beach, when, in 1769, Dr. Pedro Prat tried to repair the ravages of scurvy among the sailors of the original Spanish colonization expedition. He found no vegetables, or fruit, or bread stuff among the residents of San Diego, at that time all Indians, and there was no fresh meat for his patients. He operated his tent hospital for almost a year, gathering herbs and grasses in the fields in his attempt to arrest the scurvy, but two-thirds of the men of his expedition died. Seventy-seven years later, Dr. Griffin had resources that were not available to Dr. Prat. There were horses and cattle in Lower California, and supplies of all kinds at the Sandwich Islands, chief trading post of the Pacific. One ship was dispatched with men to drive up cattle; and one, with Quartermaster Swords, to buy supplies in Hawaii. Major Swords left on December 21, 1846, and returned two months later on February nineteenth.

Dr. Griffin's shopping list called for ninety-four different drugs, one fourth of which are no longer in use.¹⁶ Only a few of the concoctions were aimed at specific diseases, such as malaria, syphilis, gonorrhea, tuberculosis or cardiac distress. The great majority were linaments, poultices, salves, tonics, expectorants, emetics, sedatives, cathartics, and remedies for diarrhea, many of which the doctor would compound himself. The predominance of these non-specific remedies resulted from

lack of knowledge about a wide range of diseases, for which specific treatment is now available. Moreover, the list contains no antiseptics except caustics, because Pasteur had not yet introduced the world to germs; and no anesthetics as such, except opium, because ether as an anesthetic had been demonstrated in Boston only two months previously and the news had not yet reached Dr. Griffin.

The list of instruments includes glasses for cupping, spring lancets for scarifying and thumb lancets for bleeding, but no laboratory equipment because such tests as scientific urine analysis, blood count and bacterial culture were unknown. Although Laennec had invented the stethoscope twenty-seven years earlier, there was none at Fort Leavenworth, and Dr. Griffin did not attempt to order one from Hawaii.

Three books of army blanks are requested, and one U. S. Dispensatory. A note is appended, "If this work cannot be obtained, another work of the same kind." Only twenty bed sacks or mattresses are requested, forty blankets, forty pillow cases, twenty pillow ticks and forty sheets. Apparently Dr. Griffin was contemplating a twenty-bed hospital with prompt laundry service.

The furniture and dressings list includes such items as corks, cork screws, funnels, hones, ink powder papers, graduated measures, a coffee and spice mill, mortar and pestle, bed pans, sewing needles, paper and envelopes, pill boxes, pins, quills, scales, shears, spatulas, sponges, thread, towels, sealing wax and chamber pots. Here is eloquent testimony to the meagerness of the doctor's equipment while he was fighting for the lives of his wounded soldiers. It also speaks for the primitiveness of the San Diego community, which could not provide these simple necessities.

Major Swords carried with him to the Sandwich Islands a letter from General Kearny to his wife in Missouri, reassuring her about his wounds and hoping that the quartermaster would "find there some vessel about starting for the U. States."¹⁷

4. Letter from
Dr. C. Eversfield,
Asst. Surgeon, U.S. N.
U. S. Ship Congress

to
Dr. Griffin, U.S. Army,
San Diego
Febr. 10th, '47

Dear Doctor

Dr. Moseley says that he cannot furnish you with the quinine you want as he spared you all he could on your requisition. I send you below the list of killed and wounded.

Jan 8th, San Gabriel —

Wounded

1. Thomas Smith, U.S.N.S.S.Cyane, Comp. D. Musket.
Wounded accidentally — two musket balls through the thigh.
Died 2 o'clock next morning.
2. William Cope, Sea, U.S. Ship Savannah, Comp. B. Musket.
Four wounds in the right arm and hand from buck shot, two wounds in the right thigh from musket ball.
3. George Bantam, U.S.N.S.S.Cyane, Comp. Riflemen.
Wounded by accident. Bayonet wound through the hand.
4. Jacob Hait, Volunteer, Artillery driver.
Musket ball entering the left side of the chest in front, about 3 inches below the clavicle. Died 24 hours later.
5. Patrick Campbell, U.S.N.S.S.Cyane, Comp. D. Musket.
Spent carbine ball, internal face of left thigh.
6. William Scott, Private, U.S.M.C., Ship Portsmouth.
Carbine ball, lower part of sternum. Clothing carried in, ball rebounding.
7. Joseph Wilson, Sea, U.S.S.Congress, Comp. A. Musket.
Spent musket ball above the knee.
8. Ivory Coffin, Sea, U.S.S.Savannah, Comp. B. Musket.
Spent carbine ball, right knee.
9. James Hendry, Sea, U.S.S.Congress, Comp. A. Musket.
Spent carbine ball, midway between umbilicus and sternum.

Killed

1. Frederick Stevens, Sea, U.S.S.Portsmouth, Artillery.
Round shot carried away upper part of right shoulder and side of neck.

Jan 9th —

Wounded

1. Mark H. Child, Private, Comp. C, 1st Dragoons
2. James Campbell, U.S.N.S.Congress, Comp. D. Carbines.
Accidentally in the foot — toe amputated.
3. George Crawford, Boatswain's mate, U.S.S.Cyane, Comp. D. Musket.
Carbine ball passing through the thigh.
4. Stephen C. Rowan, Lieut. U.S.N.S.S.Cyane
Shoulder — spent musket ball. Slight.

I believe besides the above, you put Gillespie on your report.

There has been no arrival and of course we have no news. Come to see us whenever you can and

Believe me to be

Yours truly

C. Eversfield, Asst. Surgeon, U.S.N.

These are the wounded and dead from the battle of San Gabriel River, January 8, 1847, and the battle on the Los Angeles Mesa, January 9. The list is interesting because it illustrates the mixed command of sailors and soldiers, and it demonstrates by what means men died for their country in 1847.

On December 29, 1846, Dr. Griffin had left his convalescent patients at San Diego in the care of Dr. R. F. Maxwell, surgeon of the *Cyane*, and marched with the united commands of Commodore Stockton and General Kearny to subdue the rebellious Californians at Los Angeles. With him were Dr. Andrew A. Henderson of the *Portsmouth* and Dr. Charles Eversfield of the *Congress*.

Dr. Eversfield seems to have acted as record clerk in the improvised hospital in the adobe government house in Los Angeles. Dr. Richard Den, who served as surgeon for the California forces and had been caring for United States prisoners in the same building shortly before the surrender,¹⁸ had disappeared from the scene.

On January eighteenth, Dr. Griffin closed the Los Angeles hospital, shipping Mark Child, with the bullet in his heel, to San Diego by way of San Pedro, and marching the rest of the patients overland to San Diego. Dr. Edward Gilchrist and Dr. Alfredo Anselin, with Frémont's garrison forces, now served Los Angeles.

Lieut. Archibald Gillespie, who commanded the thirty-five reinforcements at the battle of San Pascual, had been painfully wounded with five or six lance stabs in that fray; this new wound was a slight one.

Despite the jurisdictional conflict that was brewing between Commodore Stockton and General Kearny, the doctors of the navy cooperated fully with the army surgeon. Dr. Griffin expressed his gratitude in the diary to the surgeons of the *Congress* and the *Portsmouth* who prepared for the arrival of his wounded in San Diego and shared their medical stores.

5. Return of Quartermaster's property, received, issued and expended while en route from Santa Fe, New Mexico to San Diego, California, from the 25 of Sept. 1846 to the 31st of Dec. 1846.

Transportation [2 copies]

Received from officers, Sept. 25th, 1846

1 Sides of Leather	2 Com tent & poles
1 Bales of shoe thread	1 Tent fly
6 Packing bags	1 Axe
8 Larriettes	1 Waggon
1 Lead lines	8 Mules
1 Saddles	8 Harness sets

2 Stretchers pad
2 5th chains

1 Whip
1 Wagon covers

All issued, expended and lost. J. S. Griffin, Asst. Surgeon, U.S.A.

San Diego California, Feby 14, A.D. 1847

General.

I have the honor herewith to enclose a return of Quartermaster's property for which I was responsible. The side of leather and shoe thread were expended in the public service — the packing bags were worn out en route to this place — Upon referring to the Invoice of Capt. McKessack, Invoice No 1 and the receipt of Lt. Ingalls — voucher No 1 — it will be seen that several articles — viz 8 Lariatts — 2 prs Stretchers — 2 5th Chains & a wagon cover are not on the receipts. The movement causing the transfer of property was a hurried one, and I did not have an opportunity of referring to my invoices. Consequently the invoices and receipts do not agree — the lariates, stretchers and 5th chains & wagon cover were turned over to Lt. Ingalls with the mules and wagon by me — The axe was destroyed at the time the baggage was ordered to be burned — after the action of San Pascual, California. The tent poles (one set) were worn out & lost during the march.

General T. S. Jesup
Q.M. Generl., U.S.A.
Washington, D.C.

I am &c
J. S. Griffin

This report, again, is on a hand-ruled form, and the doctor has trouble with his spelling. The "transfer of property" occurred on October 13, 1846, on the Rio Grande, when General Kearny ordered the wagons sent back to Santa Fé.

6. Invoice of Medicines, Instruments, Hospital Stores, Bedding &c Received from Asst. Surgeon J. S. Griffin, U.S.A. at San Diego by Asst. Surgeon G. B. Sanderson, U.S.A. at Pueblo De Los Angeles, California, March 14th, 1847.

This list is in Dr. Sanderson's handwriting and enumerates only thirty-eight drugs, three instruments, and a limited collection of beddings, dressings, supplies and luxuries such as loaf sugar, port wine and brandy. Nevertheless, it must have infuriated Dr. Griffin to part with these stores, carried so great a distance by Maj. Thomas Swords, and to surrender them for the benefit of a Los Angeles hospital. He had hoped to be stationed in Los Angeles himself, and had left there on January 18, 1847, with the utmost reluctance.

As senior surgeon of this coast, Dr. Griffin might have expected, rightly, to be stationed at the military headquarters of the southern

district, but the maneuvers of his superior officers kept him at the subordinate station of San Diego. Commodore Robert F. Stockton, contesting the post of highest command with Kearny, was replaced by Commodore William B. Shubrick on January twenty-ninth, and with Shubrick's support, General Kearny had been made military governor of California. This change involved the demotion of Col. John Charles Frémont, whose battalion had been garrisoning Los Angeles, and he was ordered to turn in his military stores and muster his volunteers into the regular army. Thereupon the main body of the Mormon battalion moved into Los Angeles.

Dr. Sanderson was thoroughly hated by the Mormons,¹⁹ because he forced calomel and arsenic on the Faithful from "an old rusty spoon," instead of relying on prayer and the sacred unguents. The Mormon name for Dr. Sanderson was "Captain Death." Nevertheless, he had made the bitter march from Santa Fé with Col. Philip St. George Cooke, the new commandant, and loyalty required that he be continued in his post.

7. Letter from Captain H. A. Turner
San Lewis Rey

to Dr. Griffin in San Diego
March 14, 1847

My dear Dr.

I send you several Newspapers which will give you an insight into what was passing in the U. States & Mexico a few months ago.

I have but little *consolation* to offer you, except that the Dragoons are to be stationed at the Pueblo, which I have no doubt you will find more agreeable than remaining at San Diego. After being here a few days I shall return to Monterey. The General will be coming down very soon after my return with a considerable force, to give stability & quietude in this quarter. Com. Stockton has recd. orders to go north. Com. Biddle's unexpected arrival on the coast will cause him doubtless to be prompt in giving obedience to it. Please write me by return of Express what you may have learned of Com. Stockton's in[ten]tion in this respect, in other words when will the *Congress* probably leave for Monterey.

You will find Halleck full of news — he will tell you what is going on in the Upper Country & how many Americans are at this time in the Country. Not less than 5000 exclusive of Fremont's Battalion. We must have things our own way from this time. The two Commodores above are determined to carry out the views of the President in this quarter.

In haste, Your Sincere Friend,
Turner

Captain Turner, still on Kearny's staff, had come to Los Angeles to relieve Frémont of his command and to elevate Colonel Cooke to the command of the southern district. Cooke was instructed to transfer the dragoons, the Mormons, and as many of Frémont's men as would enlist in the regular army, from San Luis Rey to Los Angeles. Dr. Griffin was not transferred, as Turner expected him to be.

Commodore James Biddle, on his way from the Sandwich Islands to the conquest of Lower California, was superior in rank to both Stockton and Shubrick.

Lieut. Henry Wager Halleck had arrived at Monterey on January 28, 1847, with Co. F of the 3rd U.S. artillery. As an engineer officer, he probably had come south to inspect fortifications. As major general, he was commander-in-chief of the army during the Civil War.

"The views of the President in this quarter" were that General Kearny should be military governor, but Captain Turner must have been thinking of Shubrick and Biddle when he speaks of "two Commodores," because Commodore Stockton certainly did not share the President's views on that subject.

8. Letter from Major Thomas Swords
Sn Luis Rey

to Griffin, San Diego
March 18, 47

Dear Dr.

We are about to be off for the Pueblo. I am sorry you cannot accompany us. You must take good care of Mrs. B. & we will attend to the daughters. Don't curse but keep your temper — you will have ample time to renew your acquaintance with the young ladies. I am strongly of the impression that we are fighting men for three years to come. Let us know how you are getting along by every opportunity. I enclose a return of Mormon [illegible]. Turner left Wednesday evening.

The last few sentences and the signature are smudged, but the handwriting is that of Major Swords.

"Mrs. B." is Mrs. Juan Bandini of San Diego. She had three beautiful stepdaughters: Arcadia, wife of Abel Stearns, living in Los Angeles; Ysadora and Josefa, both single and probably visiting their sister. Juan Bandini supported the United States cause in the war and his home was always a center of gayety for both navy and army officers. Ysadora was especially popular with the dragoon officers and eventually married Lieut. Cave Johnson Coutts (spelled also "Couts") of that force.

9. Letter from Dr. G. B. Sanderson
San Luis Rey

to Griffin, San Diego
March 19, 1847

Dr. Doctor

I received your note by Lt. Halleck and one by the waggon's also the different articles sent by them. On tomorrow we start to the Pebleu with all the men except about 30 or 40 who remain to garrison this place. I am very sorry you do not accompany us an if Cook had have given you the choice I would willingly have given way. The General will be down shortly an our things will then go right. I have no news worth relating. Turner left here last evening for the Pebleu and will from there send a express to Genl Kearny. I do not believe that Fremont will go up to Monterey. Things look very strange up there. I will write you as soon as an opportunity offers from the City. I shall take up all the Medicines &c up with me and I will then ascertain what is wanting. I have sent you all the blanks I have to spare. My respects to all yours,

G. B. Sanderson

Hall says that some sugar was left with your boy belonging to him. If so send it up.

G.B.S.

Willard P. Hall was a young politician from Missouri who had enlisted as a private with the volunteers. On the Santa Fé trail, word reached him that he had been elected to congress from his home district. He was dismissed from the army, but continued the journey as a free lance. At Santa Fé he helped to frame the civil government for New Mexico. He continued to California with the Mormon battalion, and returned to the east with General Kearny on May 31, 1847.

10. Quarterly Report of Sick and Wounded at San Diego California, for the Quarter ending March 31st 1847.

Remaining sick last report 15

Total sick or received in hospital during quarter

Feb. Int. Quartana	1	Vulnus punctum	1
Feb. Int. Tertiana	2	Vulnus sclopeticum	11
Feb. Remittens	1	Subluxatio	1
Dysenteria	1	Total	23
Catarrhus	1	Aggregate	38
Gonorrhea	1	Returned to duty	11
Ambustio	1	Died	2
Amputatio	1	Sick	4
Continero	1		

Mean Strength

	Officers	Enlisted Men	Total
Jany	27	573	600
Feby	1	19	20

March	4	74	88
Aggregate			<u>708</u>
Average			236

The forces that marched from San Diego for the Pueblo de los Angeles—Dec 29th 1846—consisted of C. Company 1st Dragoons, detachments of Seamen and Marines from the U.S. Ships, Congress, Savannah, Cyane and Portsmouth, and two companies of the California Battalion of mounted Riflemen. The gun shot wounds were all received in the actions of the 8th and 9th of Jany—in crossing the San Gabriel and the plains of the Mesa. With few exceptions, they were slight—On the 7th of Jany a Dragoon of C, 1st Regiment, accidentally shattered his hand by a pistol shot, which caused the amputation of the middle & ring finger of the right hand.

On the 23d of Jany I returned to San Diego to take charge of the wounded of C. Company 1st Dragoons—On the 20th of February, all of the Dragoons being convalescent (with the exception of two)—were sent to their Company at the Mission of San Luis Rey—

On the 17th of March, Company B. Mormon Battalion took post at San Diego....

The first part of this report is in the usual tabular form, rearranged here for printing convenience.

During January 1847, the doctor's post was a lively one, with dragoons and Mormons adding up to 600, but by February first everyone had gone to San Luis Rey except the doctor, his hospital corps of four, and his patients. By the end of the month, even his patient load was reduced to two. March was a bit livelier, with a detachment of dragoons under Lt. George Stoneman garrisoning the place for two weeks, and Company B of the Mormon battalion under Capt. Jesse D. Hunter replacing them on March seventeenth.

The two dragoons not yet convalescent were Mark Childs, with the bullet still in his heel from January ninth; and David Streeter, still trying to recover from the fifteen lance wounds of San Pascual. Streeter's cousin, William Streeter, mechanic, dentist and pseudo-doctor, later wrote in his "Recollections," that his cousin, when carried to San Diego, "lay for four weeks and five days wholly unconscious."²⁰ Dr. Griffin was about to give him up, when, noticing signs of life, he renewed his efforts so successfully that the young man was able to resume his trade as a barber. But addiction to the use of morphine, prescribed by the doctor as a stimulant during his convalescence,²¹ prevented complete recovery.

11. Letter from Dr. G. B. Sanderson
Cuidad de Los Angeles

to Griffin, San Diego
April 8th, 1847

Dr. Griffin

I herewith enclose your receipts for the Medicines, Hospital Stores, Bedding &c turned over by you. I think you will find them all right except the adhesive Plaster which did not come up. I presume you will find it among your Medicines remaining. The news here is but of little importance. The Dragoons have been out pretty much since we have been here against the Indians who are committing many depredations on the property and persons of the Californians. Smith succeeded in catching one lot of them & killed four—he had two men wounded. Stoneman started yesterday morning with some 30 men and they will I have no doubt be employed for the next 3 months on similar service. Col Mason arrived here last Monday in the *Marion*. I rode out with him to the Mission of San Gabriel Tuesday. His business was to see if this California Battalion would be regularly mustered into the Service. They refused. Fremont has been to Monterey he was only gone 8½ days. I think the Gentleman begins to think his position here not so very agreeable or enviable but such a system of Military humbugery I have never before witnessed. I see their object is to delay him as long as possible for the purpose of hearing from the U.S. Col. Mason ordered him to discharge the Battalion forth with. He turns over the Ordnance to day and all public property. What course will be taken with Fremont I cannot say. Gilchrist will of course be relieved and Capt. Wilson. Maj. Gillespie goes to the States in a few days. This place is very dull and considerable sickness prevails at present. Col. Mason goes up by land. I am anxiously waiting forward to the time I shall leave these diggins. They have broke up San Louis Rey and ordered all troops up here. I will write you if anything transpires worth noticing. Miss Isadora I see occasionally. She looks blooming. Davidson I think don't attend to her much.

Yours truly
G. B. Sanderson

Lieut. Andrew Jackson Smith took charge of the Mormon battalion after the death of Lieut. Col. Allen, and commanded them as far as Santa Fé. He then became acting commissary of subsistence.

Lieut. George Stoneman acted as quartermaster for the Mormons. He distinguished himself in the army during the Civil War, and later returned to Los Angeles, becoming governor of California in 1883.

Col. Richard E. Mason, of the U.S. 1st dragoons, arrived in Monterey on February 13, 1847, and succeeded Kearny as military governor of California on May thirty-first. He went to Los Angeles on April fifth or sixth to hasten Frémont's termination.

Frémont's ride to Monterey and back in eight and a half days was a maneuver in the contest for the military governorship, but the colonel

found himself obliged to defer to General Kearny and Colonel Mason.

Dr. Edward Gilchrist, a navy surgeon from the *Cyane* who enlisted with the California battalion, was with Gillespie in Los Angeles before the revolt of September 1846, and after the re-conquest was stationed at the San Gabriel Mission headquarters of the California battalion.

Capt. John K. Wilson was left in charge at San Gabriel while Frémont rode to Monterey, and he refused to turn over the ordnance to Colonel Cooke during Frémont's absence.

Lieut. John W. Davidson dragged the two heavy howitzers over mountain and desert on Kearny's march from Santa Fé. He was now acting assistant quartermaster at Los Angeles.

12. Letter from Major Thomas Swords	to Griffin, San Diego,
Monterey, Calif.	May 4, 1847

My Dear Dr.

Your very welcome letter was received by the last mail and I now take pleasure in answering it by the first opportunity. We are all in commotion here at this time. Genl. K. with Col. Stevenson and two of his companies are just embarking on board the *Lexington* for the Pueblo—an express having been received from Cooke that the people about there have shown signs of disaffection and that he has much to fear an outbreak if more troops are not sent to that neighborhood. Fremont by last account was still there and while he remains there cannot be quiet in the country. What course the General will pursue when he gets down I don't know but I hope he has found by this time that indulgence toward Fremont only encourages him in his open defiance of orders. Mutiny, it might perhaps be more properly called. I hope he is yet destined to receive the punishment his conduct deserves.

Since I have been here I have been certainly busy, writing every night until 10 or 11—and I do not even yet begin to see my way through the thousand demands that are made upon me, but as our garrison is reduced to two companies I will not have much post duty to do. It is the duty that has been put upon me in addition to the regular duty of the Dept. that is most harassing—as there is no satisfying these people and they all come to me for the claims that are due them by the former authorities.

One piece of duty I now have on hand, however, I take great pleasure in performing and that is making preparations for our return home. I say *our* but much fear I shall not have the pleasure of your company as a mess-mate as the Genl's instructions prohibit him from taking the Dragoons back with him. I shall go home with him but expect to return immediately if they do not order me to join Genl. Taylor's Army and if I return shall bring Mrs. S. with me.

Much wish you were here, there is no comparison between this and San Diego, though we have not a family that I have seen, that can compare with Bandinis. I do not know a family in the place but the subs of the Artillery are out almost

every night, often I believe to a dance. I am at last tolerably comfortably fixed, have a good office in my store house. A room adjoining Halleck's and mess with the Artillery officers, a clever set of fellows. Occasionally go aboard one of the vessels and some of them are constantly in town. . . .

Am much obliged for the trouble you have taken with my property and I hope we came out even. . . . I send your requisition for Medicines with the Genl's order as on the original—also a artifica [facsimile] copy of the order for the destruction of property.

I hope, as the Genl. will be in the Pueblo, you will be ordered up as I think you would find that a pleasant place. Sanderson, I expect, will go home with us.

I had some newspapers by the *Preble* and by Navy—they have all been taken off without my consent as I had not read them myself. I sent some to Davidson the other day and think I asked him to send them to you when he was done with them.

Cooke must be much chagrined at Col. Stevenson's being ordered down to the Comd. of the Southern District—he is equal to old Stockton in gassing—will do for people better than for soldiers.

Give my kindest regards to Mrs. Bandini—tell her if I should bring my wife to this country it would give me much pleasure that they should become friends.

Col. Mason is in Comd. at this place. We are *very* thick and I have got along with the Genl. much better than I ever did before—the truth is—he is now discovering my good qualities—ahem, and takes me into his cabinet counsels, so I know all that is going on.

I must now, Dear Dr., close but hope in my next to give you something *interesting*.

In haste, Yours truly
Tho. Swords

Don't forget the Genl's sleep kit. The Dragoon Clothing is at San Francisco. I have ordered it down and will forward it to him as soon as it comes. You may be able to get from him what you want. Hope the Genl will do something while at the Pueblo for the final interment of those buried at San Pascual. I showed him your letter.

There is fine hunting and fishing here. The Officers get deer whenever they go out, and grisley bear have been frequently seen by them when out hunting—but they have been afraid to commence the attack.

Col. Jonathan Stevenson commanded the New York volunteers, nearly eight hundred young men from the eastern seaboard who arrived by ship in March and April 1847. Since the Mormon battalion was now being mustered out of service, the New York volunteers were to garrison Los Angeles in their stead, and Colonel Stevenson was to replace Colonel Cooke. Cooke *was* chagrined. He resigned his commission and went east with General Kearny.

The "claims" that troubled the major were debts incurred by Stockton and Frémont. Stock and supplies were appropriated from natives and foreigners, sometimes without their consent. Commodore Stockton had paid some of the claims from navy funds, but Kearny refused to honor the debts in view of certain technical irregularities. The California claims were not completely settled until 1860.

The artillery was Co. F, 3rd U.S. artillery, which had arrived in January to inspect and repair fortifications.

Major Sword's storehouse was a small one-story adobe built by Thomas Larkin next to his own large house.²²

The "requisition for Medicines with the Genl's order" was a duplicate copy of Dr. Griffin's order to join the troops at Leavenworth, written on the bottom of the estimate for medicines, as in the original. This was the abstract that was certified as "A true exteact" by Lieut. E. E. McLean on Sept. 3, 1847.

Dr. Sanderson did go home with General Kearny and resigned from the service when he reached Fort Leavenworth.

The general *did* do something about the interment of those buried at San Pascual.²³ About May twentieth a party of 1st dragoons under Lieutenant Davidson removed their comrades to another temporary burial place in the cemetery at Old Town, San Diego, but the graves in time became badly neglected. In 1850 the officers and men of the 1st dragoons, including Dr. Griffin, sent eighty dollars to their headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., requesting that a monument be erected over the remains of their comrades who fell at San Pascual. For some reason, the monument was never erected. In 1880 or thereabouts, the remains were again exhumed and reinterred on Point Loma. In 1888 they were once more moved and buried in the post cemetery on Point Loma above Fort Rosecrans.

13. Report of Sick and Wounded to the 12th of May, 1847, at San Diego, Calif.

Remaining sick last report	4
Taken sick, with the usual complaints	14
Dead	1
Returned to duty	10
Convalescent	7

There were four officers and seventy-four enlisted men. The garrison consisted of Co. B. Mormon Battalion and a detachment of the wounded and hospital attendants of C. Company 1st Dragoons. On the 12th of May I left San Diego to relieve Asst. Surgeon Sanderson in the Puebla de los Angeles. All the sick left in Hospital at San Diego were convalescent.

(Note to be ascertained, What is Capt. Hunter's sick report — April 30th, March 31st.)

Referring to death of Albert Dunham, private, Mormon Batt. This man died at 3 A.M. on the morning of the 11th. The cause of death a tirtuslosis of acute rheumatism from muscles of back of neck and shoulders to brain. He was received in Hospital May 8th. Previous to his attack he had been exercising freely playing ball — he was suddenly taken with violent pains in the back of the neck and shoulders — On visiting at Tattoo on the night of the 10th [should be 9th] he said he was much better. Stimulating linament applied to neck and a mercurial with opium and Ipecac — during the night he made no complaints — upon visiting on the morning of the 10th, I found that he had slept but little during the night. Inflammation and discoloration around the right eye, slight delirium. Rx of Ricini — apply cups to temples & blister back of neck — The inflammation of the eye continued to increase rapidly and the discoloration spread over temple to part of forehead. The swelling of the eye about 2 P.M. was enormous and looked as if it would burst. The tunica much injected with blood, and the pupil perfectly insensible. Counter irritants to the extremities, stimulating enemas, blood letting, mercurials were all tried without the slightest effect. He finally died about 3 A.M. of morning of 11th May, having been comatose several hours previous to death. Post Mortem. He was a strong muscular man, about 23 or 24 years old — the brain was carefully examined. The veins were congested, the ventricles full of bloody serum and a deposite on the Arachnyd resembling coagulated lymph — this could not be removed with a sponge and water.

Dr. Griffin's diagnosis was "tirtuslosis [torticollis] of acute rheumatism." His description would lead one to suspect that he was probably dealing with a case of acute purulent meningitis.²⁴ Today the disease would have been suspected from the symptoms, proved by examination and culture of the spinal fluid, and most probably cured by antibiotic therapy.

Linament, mercury, opium, ipecac, castor oil, cupping, blistering, counter irritants, enemas, bleeding — no wonder they were all to no avail when the seat of the trouble was an infection in the meninges of the brain, the spinal fluid and the eye; but, before Pasteur, the doctor could not have known about such infections.

14. Letter from Dr. G. B. Sanderson
Monterey, Calif.

to Griffin, Los Angeles
May 30, 1847

Dear Griffin I received yours last mail enclosing receipts for Medicines &c left by me at the Hospital. I left two blankets, old ones, and took two new ones. I expect to turn them in in Leavenworth. The reason I done so was I did not wish to use new Blankets for some sick men I had before I had bunks or bedsteds. I will

forward you the books by Maj. Swords should he return. If the war should not be at an end when I get home, I shall apply to come out to California. I shall come out anyway if I can give away my property in Missouri. I do not like this place as well as the City of Angles. . . . We start on the 1st July for the States in Co. with the Ex Gov. Fremont & Co. . . . I could not raise a cap in the place or I would have sent it. I however have got the promise from a gentleman who expects some in a few days to send some down to your place. Give my best wishes to Davidson and Stoneman. I wish you would include my return in your quarterly report from the 1st March if it can be done. My last report ran up to the last Feby, 1847.

Com. Stockton is small potatoes in these diggins, old Biddle makes things go right. Dont forget now if anything comes to me to send back to Leavenworth.

I am yours truly
Geo. B. Sanderson

P.S. Tell Smith I will attend to that copy he wants. G. B. S.

At last Dr. Griffin is in charge of the Los Angeles Hospital, receiving medical stores from Dr. Sanderson, instead of the reverse, as at Leavenworth and San Diego. The picture of sick men sleeping in dirty blankets on the floor of a Los Angeles Hospital is shocking, even though it happened a hundred and seven years ago. However, the soldiers who marched overland were doubtless inured to hard beds and dirt, whether they were sick or well.

15. Letter from Miguel de Pedrorena
San Diego

to Griffin, Los Angeles
May 30, 1847

Dr. J. S. Griffin

Dear Sir

I received your esteemed favor of the 28th and have advised Don Santiago of your wishes in regard to the pistol in question.

The owner of the house you occupied is Don Francisco Maria Alvarado who will probably hand you the present.

The city of San Diego is if possible much duller than ever you saw it, and there is hardly anything that is worth going out of doors for. I am affraid Col. Stevenson will form a pretty mean idea of the place.

I shall be happy to hear from you whenever your leisure will allow it, for as for seeing you here, I hardly expect it.

Yours truly
Miguel de Pedrorena

The pistol was probably lost at the battle of San Pascual. Dr. Griffin says in his diary,²⁵ "I got off by dropping my gun which I snapped at a fellow and drawing an empty pistol—this answered the purpose of a loaded one—" He may have dropped the pistol, as well, when Gillespie called him to the rear to attend to his wounds.

"Don Santiago" was probably Santiago Argüello, brother-in-law to Juan Bandini, honorary captain in Frémont's battalion and collector of the port in San Diego from February to June 1847.

Francisco Maria Alvarado was justice of the peace and collector of the port of San Diego before the American conquest, and a cousin of former Governor Alvarado.

Colonel Stevenson arrived in Los Angeles with General Kearny on May ninth and attempted to re-enlist the men of the Mormon battalion. He reached San Diego the middle of June, where he succeeded in persuading Capt. Jesse D. Hunter's Co. B to sign up for another six months.

Miguel de Pedrorena, a Spaniard, was on the California coast in 1837 and early 1840's as shipper and agent for South American companies, and after 1845 made his home in San Diego. He owned large ranches, became justice of the peace, was Commodore Stockton's aide during the re-conquest of San Diego, and was later collector of customs. In 1849 he attended the constitutional convention at San Jose as a delegate, but died shortly thereafter.

16. Letter from Griffin
Los Angeles

to Surgeon General Thos. Lawson
Washington, D.C.
June 1, 1847

Sir:

Herewith I have the honor to enclose returns of Medicines, Instruments, Books &c received, expended, used and remaining on hand for the half year ending March 31, 1847.

The only opportunity that has offered of sending these returns since due was by General Kearny: I was stationed at San Diego and knew nothing of the intention of the General to leave California at the time he did: Upon my leaving San Diego the returns, vouchers &c were accidentally left there.

I am, Sir
Most Respectfully Your Obdt Servt
John S. Griffin, Asst. Surgeon

The doctor left San Diego on May 12, 1847, in great haste, as his orders required him to report at Los Angeles without delay. He had been up the entire night of the eleventh with his sick patient, Albert Dunham, who died at three A. M. and was autopsied. Perhaps the doctor's weariness and his haste may have accounted for a series of oversights: he left the matter of the pistol unsettled; he forgot his medical records; the medical stores were not securely locked; he rode his horse so hard that it gave out under him and he had to borrow

another at the ranch of an erstwhile enemy, but he got to Los Angeles in two and a half days.²⁶

17. Letter from Lieut. Robt. Clift,
San Diego

to Griffin, Los Angeles
June 12, 1847

Dear Sir:

I have made out your Hospital Abstract in the best way I new how. The amount of retained rations at Government price amount to \$17..30cts. The Amount of Extra Reqs. 15..15. This is for the whole time I have been here. This leaves me in debt to the Hospital \$2..15 cts. I have sent a small Comssry. bill to you. Your boy got some things the day previous to your leaving.

I remember some time since your telling me that you had lost your pistols at a party in San Diego. I think you told me they were silver mounted. I saw a pair of pistols a few days ago that I thought might possible be yours. They were in possession of a Californian who was shot at the San Pascual Battle if you will send me a description of your pistols I will examine them.

I Remain Your Obedient Servt
Robt. Clift, Lt. Mor Battn

Obviously, the Mormon battalion commissary and the dragoon hospital records were separate accounts. Clift was quartermaster for the Mormons.

Lieutenant Clift may mean "your telling me . . . at a party," rather than that the pistols were lost at a party. Lieutenant Rowan of the *Cyane* also lost a pistol at San Pascual, and later instructs Dr. Griffin to go as high as \$15 or \$20 to recover it if it has not been injured. Perhaps Clift has located both pistols.

18. Letter from Lt. Robt. Clift,
San Diego

to Griffin, Los Angeles
June 24, 1847

Dear Sir

I Received your letter by Lt. Stoneman on Wednesday. I am happy to say the receipts you sent down by the mail came safe to hand. The Mail did not arrive here on the day appointed Consequently we sent out two men to see what had become of them. By doing so I did not get the Receipts. Col. Stevenson arrived here Wednesday evening it appears he has received no answer from the four companies in the Pueblo. When he arrived here he found another breed of pups. Captain Hunter made a proposition to the Colonel also the men and we have almost all of us entered the service again for six months. If the Puebelianins want fighting fowls let them come to San Diego. I am sorry the man that has the pistols I suppose to be yours is not in town at present but when he comes I will jump in to him.

Lt. Stoneman has not given me the money you say you sent by him. We have no news.

I Remain Your Obedient Servt

Robt. Clift, Lt. Mn. Bat Vols

On March 19, 1847, General Kearny had established a semi-monthly mail, to run regularly between San Francisco and San Diego. Two soldiers on horseback would start every Monday from San Francisco and from San Diego, meeting at Captain Dana's ranch at San Luis Obispo on the following Sunday. Here they exchanged mail pouches and started back to their respective stations, reaching there the next Sunday.

The command of the re-enlisted Mormons was given to Capt. Daniel C. Davis, and Captain Hunter became Indian agent, stationed at San Luis Rey.

19. Certificate from Captain Jesse Hunter to Surg. Gen. Thos. Lawson
Los Angeles July 16, 1847

This is to certify that Asst. Surgeon J. S. Griffin, U.S.A. received orders to repair to the Pueblo de los Angeles, without delay. At the time Dr. Griffin left San Diego, another Surgeon was expected in a few days to relieve him; that the Hospital property at the Post was necessary for the service of the Garrison, and it was during the time I commanded, and I further declare that the property was packed as secure as circumstances would admit of, and placed in the Store House, with other public property at the time the post was avacuated.

[Not signed]

Certificate from Lieut Robert Clift, July 16, 1847

This is to certify that the Hospital Property at San Diego was carefully packed — and placed under my charge for storage. The house in which the stores were placed was broken open and certain articles of bedding were stolen. I further certify that the same care was taken of the Hospital property as of other property at the post.

Robt. Clift
Lieut Mor Battn.
A A Qm

20. Letter from Dr. Alfredo Anselin to Griffin, Los Angeles
Hospital of San Diego October 5th, 1847

Sir

Yesterday after the starting of the mail we proceeded to search the chest belonging to the Steward, Archibald Waddell, and we found several medicines in it, but not sufficient to quell my suspicions, for I knew positively that he had another box, which he brought in from the Pueblo. He was ordered to present

said box immediately and he at first denied having such box, in his possession. A search was immediately made in the house where he slept, since he was turned out of the hospital, and they found inside an empty barrel, a box, (which will be sent to you) and on the lid, a paper with the following address in his hand writing.

Al Sor Dn Pedro Sancher [*sic*] por
razon de Archibald Waddel
Pueblo de Los Angeles,
Up. California

Having had the Box opened, it was found full of Medicines. I proceeded to make full Inventory, and found a number of Medicines belonging to this Hospital, wrapped up in Hospital paper, and with my writing,— Having asked him where he had obtained the Medicines, he could not account for them, and on examining my Medicines, I found a large deficit. I also found some medicines which I believe to appertain to your Hospital, as the bottles are similar to those in my possession here.

With such positive proofs, I declared to Capt. Davis, who was present, that I accused said Steward of having embezzelled property belonging to the Government, and requested he might be put in confinement, and his person secured, in the manner he thought best, which was immediately done.

You will receive the above mentioned box, addressed to you, and under it, you will find the original adress it had, and it is very possible that the man to whom it was addressed, may have received other medicines before, or be connected with him in unlawful dealing.

Be so kind as to communicate the above to Col. Stevenson.

And I remain, Sir,
Respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,
Alfd Anselin
Attg Surg. U.S.A.

A second letter, in Spanish, was written by Dr. Anselin on the following day. Apparently the French doctor could not write in English, and so he engaged a translator for the first, official letter, but knowing Dr. Griffin's familiarity with Spanish, he felt free to write the unofficial letter in Spanish.

Dr. Anselin had been surgeon for Castro's battallon fijo from 1843 to 1845. In December 1844, he had led a project to capture guns from Sutter's launch at San Francisco and smuggle them across the bay for Castro's army. Later he had enlisted in Frémont's battalion, and was probably the "little French doctor— who had been assistant surgeon in the California Battalion," mentioned by Dr. Griffin in his diary. It was no doubt he who amputated Juan Lara's leg in San Diego, six months after it had been wounded in the battle of San Pascual.²⁷

In the Cowan collection, University of California library at Los Angeles, is a receipt for \$550.98, signed by Dr. Anselin in Los Angeles on March 3, 1847, and covering his services as assistant surgeon, his rations, forage for two horses, and pay for one servant, from September 1, 1846, to March 1, 1847. After Frémont's army disbanded, Dr. Anselin remained in the Los Angeles area and was employed in August 1847 as a civilian doctor at the San Diego army post. This information amplifies note 127 in *A Doctor Comes to California*, cited in note 5 below.

21. Letter from Dr. Alfredo Anselin to Griffin, Los Angeles
 Hospital of San Diego October 6, 1847
 [Translation]²⁸

Dear Doctor.

I am sending this mail by my servant with all the documents which prove that my steward is a great thief. This morning he confessed his transgressions to Capt. Davis. I found a note from a Mormon soldier promising 5 pesos to the said steward for an order of medicines from the hospital to pay him for repairing his house. Waddell has confessed that it was true, but this confession is worth nothing to me.

I have not the patience to wait for the next mail, and for that reason I am sending a special messenger so that you and Col. Stevenson may do whatever seems to you most fitting.

The steward has today been placed in custody.

I am sending you three suture needles which I found this morning in the steward's chest.

You will not receive the chest with the medicines, which will go up by the first ship.

Don Miguel was the translator of the official message which I communicate to you.

Farewell, friend. Send back the boy as soon as you can and tell him to stay at your house.

Your most affectionate friend,
 Alfd. Anselin
 Attg. Surg. U.S.A.

The horses which the boy is bringing are mine. Please leave them with those of the Dragoons so that they will not be lost.

You will receive from me, 1, the official communication
 2, the inventory of the steward's medicines
 3, a private letter

Hasten the work of the tailor, for I am held up here for want of clothing.

The Mormon soldier who repaired Waddell's house was working in his off-duty time, as all of the Mormon soldiers were permitted to do. The people of San Diego were most grateful for their practical skill

and industry at making bricks, doing iron work and wood work, white-washing, cutting weeds, and, in general, cleaning up the Pueblo.

The translator of the official letter from Spanish into English was the same Don Miguel de Pedrorena who had first written to the doctor about the pistol.

22. Excerpt from Griffin's letter
Los Angeles

to Surgeon General Thos. Lawson
Washington, D. C.
Nov. 22, 1847

... It will be seen that some medicines have been expended in large quantities. I have reason to believe that the Hospital Steward [a volunteer] has stolen several articles of medicine of the greatest value, such as morphine and Tart Antimonii. He is now in arrest and I have preferred charges against him for the theft. ... The Bedding reported lost was stolen from the Qr. master's Store room at San Diego—after that post was abandoned. The certificates of Capt. Hunter, Commdg. Post, and Lt. Clift, Act. Asst. Qr. Master, will explain the circumstances of the robbery at the time I was ordered to this post. The Hosp. Steward was left in charge of such articles as were absolutely required for the service of the post. The Mattresses reported lost were made of wool, and were much soiled and injured at the time they were received from Dr. Henderson of the Navy. Two Wedgewood mortars are reported on hand—these were found in Hospital at this place, and I have accordingly reported them on hand—The hospital furniture reported issued was that in use in the Hospital at San Diego, and reported expended on my return due March 30, 1847. Dr. Ansilin to whom they were issued, was employed as Surgeon to the post when the place was garrisoned in August last. ...

I am, Sir, Most Respectfully

Your Obdt Servt

John S. Griffin, Asst. Surgeon

Disposition of the case:²⁰ "Private Thomas Morris of Mormon Co. of Volunteers stationed at San Diego is hereby appt. hospital steward, *vice* Waddell, 7th N.Y. Volunteers, reduced. J. C. Bonnycastle

1st Lieut & Adj. N.Y. Vols."

(To be continued)

NOTES

General references: Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), "Pioneer Register," II-V; and *ibid.*, V, 334-56; also, Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I (Washington, D.C., 1903).

1. Henry Dwight Barrows, "Memorial Sketch of Dr. John S. Griffin," *Hist. Soc. So. Calif., An. Publ.*, IV (1898), 183-85.

2. William LeMoyne Wills, "Reminiscences," *Los Angeles Co. Med. Assoc., Bul.*, LXXVI, No. 3 (1931), p. 198: "He was jolly, high tempered and peppery

and the best, most unctious swearer I ever knew. His swearing was mellow and emphatic, strong adjectives, not profane."

3. Bernard DeVoto, *The Year of Decision* (Boston, 1943), p. 235.
4. William Hemsley Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California* (Washington, 1848), p. 50.
5. John Strother Griffin, *A Doctor Comes to California* [diary, 1846-47], ed. by George Walcott Ames, Jr., with foreword by George D. Lyman (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., *Spec. Publ.*, No. 18, 1943).
6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 766.
7. Letter from Henry Hancock, Feb. 7, 1876, discussing location of old toma in Los Angeles, is not germane to the present series.
8. One such letter, in print, is *Los Angeles in 1849; a Letter from John S. Griffin, M.D., to Col. J. D. Stevenson, March 11, 1849*, ed. by William M. Cheney (Los Angeles: privately printed, 1949).
9. Griffin (as in note 5 above, p. 64) says in 1847: "... taking every thing into consideration, I think this is decidedly one of the most desirable places I have ever been at. . . ."
10. Wills, *ibid.*
11. DeVoto, *ibid.*
12. Arthur Woodward, *Lances at San Pascual* (San Francisco: Calif. Hist. Soc., *Spec. Publ.*, No. 22, 1948), pp. 30-46.
13. Griffin, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.
14. John W. Davis, "Statement of the Battle of San Pascual" (manuscript, Bancroft Library).
15. Henry Harris, *California's Medical Story* (San Francisco, 1932), pp. 19-21.
16. Analysis by Thomas J. Haley, chief of division of pharmacology and toxicology, atomic energy project, School of Medicine, Univ. Calif. at Los Angeles.
17. Valentine Mott Porter, "Gen. Stephen W. Kearny and the Conquest of California," *Hist. Soc. So. Calif., An. Publ.*, VIII (1911), 95.
18. *An Illustrated History of Los Angeles County* (Chicago, 1889), p. 199.
19. Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-47* (Salt Lake City, 1881), pp. 144-52.
20. William A. Streeter, "Recollections of Historical Events in California, 1843-1878," ed. by William H. Ellison, *Calif. Hist. Soc., Quarterly*, XVIII (1939), 168.
21. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
22. Isabel Lopez de Fages, *Thirty-two Adobe Houses of Old California* (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1950), p. 70.
23. Woodward, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-53.
24. Analysis by John S. Lawrence, M.D., School of Medicine, Univ. Calif. at Los Angeles.
25. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
26. J. J. Warner, Benjamin Hayes, J. P. Widney, *An Historical Sketch of Los Angeles County, California*, introd. by J. P. Widney (Los Angeles, 1876), p. 28.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
28. Transl. by Darrel Marks, Spanish Dept., Santa Monica High School, Santa Monica, Calif.
29. Tyler, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

Alexandre Dumas fils and The Lottery of the Golden Ingots

Translated, with Introduction and Notes

By A. P. NASATIR

INTRODUCTION—The year 1848 witnessed two events, which, though unconnected, affected each other and had important consequences upon history.

On February 24, 1848, the government of Louis Philippe (king of France since August 9, 1830) fell, and turmoil reigned in Paris. Riots, street fighting and political intrigues darkened the prospects of Frenchmen. The attempt of Louis Blanc, member of the provisional government, to establish national work shops failed. Frenchmen were unemployed, impoverished, and disgusted, and, for the next few years, France continued in the throes of an economic depression.

A month earlier (January 24, 1848), James Marshall had discovered gold at Coloma in California. When the news reached France, it attracted widespread attention. Poor middle-class men, and the discharged office-holders of the previous administration who had swelled the ranks of the unemployed and the discontented in Paris, listened intently to the flood of reports concerning the wealth to be won in California. Soon French nationals began to pour in thousands through the Golden Gate. Those who came were variously motivated. Some came from curiosity, many for adventure; others came to seek wealth. Still others found it convenient to leave France for political reasons. A number embarked upon commercial ventures, while many others left France to escape poverty and starvation at home.

The attention of official France was drawn to California for commercial reasons and because of a strong interest in building up a "new" empire. California might provide a good market for French merchandise and thus ease the economic depression at home. Furthermore, France, in her effort to revive the glories of the old empire, had, for some years, sought to extend her colonial possessions. In the northern

regions of Africa, in Hawaii, and upon the Pacific coast of North America, France had cast longing eyes.

French newspapers were eager for copy. Articles upon California, its products, its history were widely published. Perhaps the first news, certainly officially, that reached France was from the very able French consul at Monterey, Jacques Antoine Moerenhout. Moerenhout's letters and diary,¹ which I found in the French archives some years ago, give a remarkably accurate and full account of the discovery and early days of the gold rush in California.² The correspondence (dated from Sausalito on San Francisco Bay) of Rear Admiral Legoarant de Tromelin,³ which I happened upon just at the end of my year as Fulbright scholar in France, but not yet sufficiently studied nor copied, also gives an excellent and accurate account. Parts of Moerenhout's and Tromelin's letters appeared in the French press. Likewise giving publicity to California were the Paris newspapers *Le Moniteur*, *Le Constitutionnel*, *La Siècle*, *Journal du Havre*, *La Presse*, *Le Temps*, *L'Estafette*, etc.⁴ Gov. R. B. Mason's trip⁵ to the mines was published many times in Paris newspapers; J. Tyrwhitt Brook's book was translated and published.⁶ Sailors who had been on voyages to California wrote their memoirs: e.g., Lacoste's narrative went through at least three editions.⁷ Hypolyte Ferry published an excellent account which found an extensive audience.⁸ Articles appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, *Annales des Voyages*, *L'Illustration*,⁹ and other French periodicals. Writers like Dufлот de Mofras were more pessimistic;¹⁰ they gave their views but were not heeded. Companies were founded for every conceivable purpose, among them colonization of California, exploitation of the mines, promoting agriculture, real estate, commerce. The goal was to rid France of her undesirables and to make money. They all used advertising and professed benevolent motives. Not all of the companies were reliable—in fact, many were fraudulent; and many of the emigrants themselves were not honest in their dealings with the companies which had advanced them their passage on credit.

The majority of the gold-seeking companies bore alluring and picturesque names, e.g., *La Californienne*, *La Toison* [fleece] *d'Or*, *L'Aurifère*, *La Fortune*, *La Ruche* [hive] *d'Or*, *Compagnie Française-Américaine*, *Comptoir* [counting-house] *des Deux Mondes*, *La Moisson* [harvest] *d'Or*, *L'Eldorado*, *Le Nouveau Monde*, and many others.¹¹ Each sold shares, some published magazines, prospectuses, giving information about California. Some paid the passage, and extended credit

to those willing to go to California; others demanded that those interested purchase shares and thus receive dividends when and if there were any.

Although there were a number of French in California prior to 1849, the greater proportion of the emigration, direct from France, took place after that date. And it is my belief that the bulk of the French families in California today stem from the efforts of the Society of the Golden Ingots (*Société des Lingots d'Or*).

My first year (1924-25), spent in looking in the archives of France for California materials, was followed by another during the 1930's, after which the authorities opened up more materials to the public. Chosen Fulbright scholar to Paris in 1950, I spent still another twelve months searching for materials on the French in California. By dint of diplomacy, I obtained microfilm copies of all the California French-consular correspondence to the year 1873, and discovered sufficient other material to re-write a good part of the history of the French in California in the 1850's and 1860's, especially in San Francisco.

One day, while waiting for a friend who works in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, I noticed on his desk a book,¹² with which at the time I was unfamiliar, dealing with the gold rush in California. I thumbed through it hurriedly and saw that he had cited some documents on the gold rush that were in the prefecture [headquarters] of police. Armed with letters from the Fulbright commission, I was granted an audience with the administrative head of the prefecture located in the *Cité*. He was not acquainted with what I was searching for. Assigning his secretary to aid me, we visited all the active archival and record places in the prefecture of police, including the criminal identification bureau. After nearly exhausting ourselves, we climbed the stairs to the fourth floor of the historic building, and there, in the archives *anciennes*, my eyes were opened as seldom before: ten boxes or cartons of documents and records dealing with the Society of the Golden Ingots. The archivists were very helpful, and I was able to microfilm what I wished. The few records that were missing I found in the archives *nationales*. These "finds" fill a great vacuum in our knowledge of the French in California during the gold rush. Moreover, my researches in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs yielded tremendous quantities of new material.¹³ During my last week in Paris, I began to hunt among the records of the admiralty. I finally ran across the correspondence originating in the gold rush era, but time was too short and pressing for me to ferret out

and examine the California material, which had to be gleaned from the reports and correspondence of the ministry of marine and the commandants of Océanie.

The tremendous importance of these new materials to California history has led Prof. William K. Shepard of the University of California and myself to write a new and full story of the French in California and to start with the Société des Lingots d'Or (hereafter called the société).

Of all the French companies connected with the California gold rush, the société is fundamental and important in the highest degree. By far the largest, most fruitful, and most ingenious, it received the backing of official patronage and was the only company actually to transport a large number of emigrants to California. To carry out the project, the company undertook to hold a lottery, which was not so surprising because lotteries had long been known and held, although a French law of 1836 forbade them. Among the 224 prizes now offered were one of 400,000 (the grand prize), one of 200,000, one of 100,000, two of 50,000, four of 25,000, five of 10,000, ten of 5,000, and two hundred of 1,000 francs. On August 3, 1850, the prefect of police authorized the organization of a lottery to raise seven million francs, the net profit up to 4,500,000 of which was to transport, free of charge, 5,000 poor emigrants to California. The founder-organizer, Jean François Langlois, former captain of a vessel of Le Havre, stood to make good money by receiving a percentage of all tickets sold. The emigrants were to be designated by the police from those who registered, and registers were opened to all who desired to go. The government wished to get rid of political suspects, men who had taken part in the revolution of 1848, and especially the former gardes mobiles and other volunteers who had been armed to overthrow Louis Blanc's socialist republicans. Many of these young men were frankly republicans and anti-Bonapartists; they had been demobilized but not yet compensated. Thus emigration to California was an excellent means to solve that difficult problem.

The société had a supervisory council, composed of merchants and a member or two from the legislative assembly. The prefect of police asked the cooperation of all the mayoralties of the department of the Seine to aid in distributing tickets. Difficulties arose, resignations, and interpollations in the legislative assembly which forced the hand of the company.

An elaborately-placarded office was set up at No. 10 Boulevard

Montmartre; gold ingots worth 400,000 francs were exhibited in the window, and signs advertised "400,000 for 1 franc." The government however made the société deposit the ingots in the Banque de France.

The directors decided to distribute a publicity pamphlet, and they chose for its author the 25-year-old Alexander Dumas, Jr. Though the success of his *La Dame aux Camélias*, published as a novel in 1848 and dramatised by him shortly afterwards, was helping to rescue the young man from his debts, he, as well as his father, were short of funds owing to the adverse effect of the country's economic condition on the senior Dumas' theatrical and other enterprises. Dumas fils' interesting brochure, together with its illustrations, struck my eye and I decided to translate it and prepare it for publication. In this work I was greatly aided by Brig. Gen. Maurice Holmes, USMC ret., a former student and colleague of mine who translated the first draft. Though clearly a sales-promotion brochure, it is fantastically written and humorously illustrated, giving a history of lotteries together with anecdotes; it points out, also, the values of the sale of lottery tickets, and the advantages which would result from the fulfilment of the objectives of the société.

Despite all efforts, the lottery tickets did not sell fast. I cannot give here the details about the sale of tickets, the administrative quarrels, and the difficulties the société encountered. Suffice it to say that many millions of lottery tickets were sold all over Europe, especially in England, Spain, and Italy. Many persons paid premiums for certain "lucky" numbers. With much fanfare, officialdom, and paid advertising, the drawing was held in the Salle du Cirque du Champs d'Élysées on November 16, 1851, and the big prize was won by ticket number 2,558,115, held by Louis-Médard Yvonnet who later died of apoplexy. The liquidation of the société was a long drawn-out process lasting several years. There were many losses of tickets, many fraudulent ones, and many were sold, the money for which did not reach the management of the société. Contained in the records of the société are full lists of the expenses, advertisements, accounts, registers, lists of individuals, agents, and separate and full accounts of each of the seventeen shiploads of emigrants who were transported to California. Accounts of difficulties are even found in the *Gazette des Tribunaux: Journal de Jurisprudence et des Débats Judiciaires*.¹⁴

Yet, despite all the difficulties, court cases, and bankruptcy proceedings, an incomplete total of the number of emigrants who arrived in California (and whose passage was paid for out of the profits of the

Lottery of the Golden Ingots) amounted to 3885. Most of them came from Paris, hardly more than 100 coming to California had their residence outside of the capital. The first boat load arrived in San Francisco on February 28, 1852. Many were the difficulties of the French emigrants who reached California, but in the case of the emigrants of the Golden Ingots lottery, at least, Consul Dillon was authorized to aid and he did.¹⁵

As stated above, I believe it is no exaggeration to say that from these French emigrants stemmed the bulk of French families now living in the state.

HISTORY OF THE LOTTERY

From the First to the Last Lottery:

THE LOTTERY OF THE GOLDEN INGOTS

By

Alexander Dumas, Jr.

Price: 1 franc

The public exhibition of the principal ingot of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots,* that one worth 400,000 *francs*, is one of those events

*Mr. Alexander Dumas, Jr., has seen fit to address the following letter to the editor of this brochure:

Sir, You have asked me for authorization to reproduce in the form of a brochure the article which I published on the subject of the lotteries. As this article was written on the Lottery of the Golden Ingots, it becomes yours by right. Here-with, then, is that authorization. By the same token, you may put into the brochure all the details which you may deem necessary or strike out those which you should find useless. In brief, do with this article as you see fit; I shall be happy to have taken part in the publicity of a lottery which I've found original and which I believe useful.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my distinguished sentiments.

A. DUMAS JR.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: Several copies of Dumas' brochure are in the archives of the prefecture of police, carton AA436, *pièce* VI. The first draft was translated by Brig. Gen. Maurice Holmes, USMC ret.

HISTOIRE DE LA LOTERIE

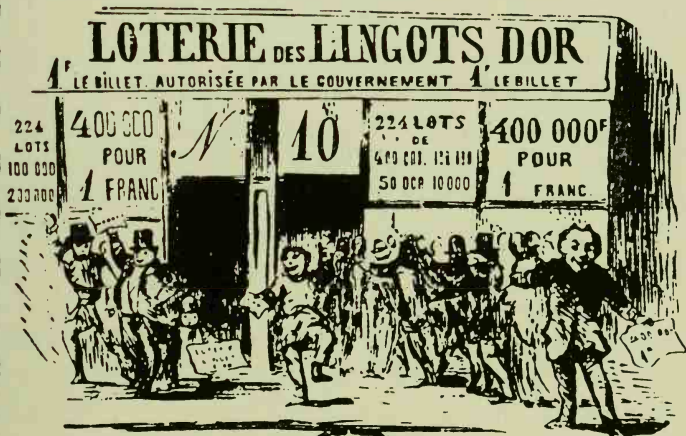
depuis la première jusqu'à la dernière Loterie

LA LOTERIE DES LINGOTS D'OR

PAR

ALEXANDRE DUMAS fils,

Prix : 1 franc.



Exposition publique du Lingot d'or, 10, boulevard Montmartre, 10.



CHEZ TOUS LES LIBRAIRES

Inserted at appropriate places in the text of the brochure are six illustrations, similar in style to the above. They have been omitted in the present rendering because satisfactory reproduction was found impracticable.

which, after having excited the curiosity of the capital to the highest degree, exerted the same kind of influence upon the province. Paris, her suburbs, as well as her environs, passed or will pass through the gate which opens upon the Boulevard Montmartre in order to exit through the Jouffroy Arcade after having paid their tribute of admiration to the idol of the day.

The departments of the country and foreign lands will have their turn, and no traveler would care to return to the city of his birth without being able to furnish an exact description of the costly ingot. Fashion and vogue have already favored it, and speculation, which travels behind them like canteen women in the trains of victorious armies, will not delay exploiting it by all possible means and under every possible form.

Our mothers have worn their dresses à la giraffe; we eat bread à la jocko [orang-utan]; and soon, perhaps, we shall take even our coffee in cups modeled after the golden ingot. This year is bringing Longchamps which, let us hope, will reassume its luxurious eccentricities, its splendid phantasies, and we shall see *the golden lion* of the Jouffroy Arcade toss his glittering mane in the first rays of the April sun.

The theater, always on the trail of circumstances, will already have given it a part in their reviews of 1850 and propose to demand of it some yet new elements of success. The Lottery of the Golden Ingots is getting the golden ingot ready. It is a question of other plays bearing the most piquant but less direct titles, and we shall not be surprised if a boulevard placard should soon present to the enraptured eyes of the young ladies an offer to give away a husband for twenty cents.

The lottery comes from afar: we do not know if it preceded the Deluge, but a venerable tradition declares that, before leaving the ark, Noah's sons played "fingers," a sort of lottery still in use among the idlers and beggars in Naples.

In the history of the Heraclidae, one finds an anecdote of marvelous interest which shows that the lottery comes from the greatest antiquity. This page of mythology must indeed be little known (we have not invented it in the meantime), in order to have escaped the pens of the composers of classic tragedies who have mercilessly dragged even Agamemnon's last little cousin onto the dramatic culprits' seat and placed in performance all the heroes of Homer and Mr. de Chompré.

Hercules' sons, chased out of Thebes by the vengeance of Juno, sought refuge in Athens at the Altar of Hospitality. Before welcoming them, the magistrates consulted the oracle, whose response was:

The exiles will make their hosts partakers of the misfortune which follows them up to the moment when a Heraclide shall voluntarily offer his head to the axe of the sacrificer.

Contrary to the usage of its class, this oracle expressed itself in terms as clear as spring water, and the Heraclidae, gathered together at that instant in the Temple of Minerva, decided that chance should designate the victim.

The names of all the descendants of the son of Alcmena were placed in a helmet, without distinction as to age or sex, and they prepared themselves for the drawing in this terrible lottery where the winner would lose his life. This certainly should have been a more dramatic, more palpitating moment than when the elect of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots shall be proclaimed — when poor wretches, disinherited from all legacies of good fortune, will possess incomes of twenty, ten, or five thousand francs. At least their competitors will be at quits with the demolition of their Castles in Spain, whereas the unfortunate Heraclidae were seeing the sword of the sacrificer suspended over their heads. Heirs to the muscular power of their glorious ancestor, they lacked moral strength; and these formidable athletes, who would have suffocated another lion of Nemea in their robust arms, were pallid, trembling in the face of doubt, that eternal *lion*.

The hierophant was about to plunge his hand into the helmet when the youngest of the little daughters of Hercules, Macuria, a pallid and frail child scarcely fifteen years old, dashed toward the altar while striking herself over the heart. "Sons of Hercules," she said, dying, "be happy; and you, Minerva, take your victim."

During the ancient Saturnalia in Rome, all who took part in these mysterious orgies, including the slaves, were given free tickets bearing the right to some prize or other. For the ones, it was a fortune; for the others, liberty; and, for all, hope.

Heliogabalus had the idea of grotesque lotteries, the raffles which impresarios of our time use successfully to lend attractiveness to their festivities. Whereas he had one win a golden vase or a vase of porphyry, a Grecian daughter of ivory tint or a copper-tinted Nubian slave, he inflicted upon the other an earthenware pitcher, a bald-headed monkey, or a broken-winded ass.

Khaïr-Eddin-Barberousse, whose name is still repeated in respectful terror along the Barbary coasts, created for himself through the lottery some abominable distractions during the leisure which peace allowed

him. He used to assemble his Christian slaves in a hall of his harem and have numbers distributed to all of them. The rest is easily imaginable. The drawing would begin: some gained the right to have the head cut off; others, to have the belly ripped open; these, to be skinned alive; those, to be tied to horses' tails.

The lottery was introduced even into the administration of a state. In the days when the Republic of Genoa was governed by five senators, their designation was entrusted to lot. Ninety competitors could aspire to this supreme honor. Their names, entered upon a like number of ballots, were mixed up in an urn from which five would be drawn and, for a time, the sovereign power devolved upon the bearers of these five names. The historians say the Genoese Republic was not the more badly governed on that account.

Our epoch is so matter-of-fact that if they instituted lotteries to select public functionaries on the condition that these serve gratuitously, they most certainly would find fewer subscribers than the Lottery of the Golden Ingots. Far be it from us to blame them, but almost all would prefer to become lords paramount of an ingot worth 400,000 — or 50,000 francs, for that matter — than to hold a purely honorary commission as prince or grand duke.

The moralists have written some truly beautiful things about the dangers of the lottery, but they have forgotten to say that it was often one of the most certain and one of the most fruitful resources of states. Paris is indebted to it for the Louvre bridge, the military school, St. Sulpice, a multitude of beneficial monuments, and all of France will be indebted in a few months to the Lottery of the Golden Ingots for the existence, the future welfare, of 5,000 workers. It is none of our business, and it would carry us too far afield to judge the motives which brought about the suppression of the lottery, that good old-time lottery of the day of green window-paned shops when an ageless child, costumed as Love, drew the numbers with a movement full of ingenuousness. It would have been just as well to suppress everything, because everything in this world is a lottery. Life is a perpetual lottery for the benefit of death; love, a lottery of the heart; ambition, a lottery of the head; the future, a lottery of everything.

And if it offers only this benefit, the most severe censor will be forced to agree that at least the lottery, with its delightful illusions, does poetize the miseries of the poor and gilds their lives with a ray of hope. How many thatched roofs, how many attics, are at this moment metamor-

phized into castles and palaces by the magic properties of little squares of paper, bearing the numbers of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots. There are few of the proletariat who, from time to time, do not buy at least twenty cents worth of the emotions of a theatrical evening at the Ambigu [olio] or the Gayety. Is it more costly than to pay the same price for a drama — a drama which lasts three months — wherein he is the chief personage and where the scenery offers his fascinated eyes, in a swift panorama, all the enchantment created by fairyland? It is true that, unless he be one of Fortune's elect when the curtain falls, he will be no better off than before, but at least he will not regret his money because, for a long time, he will have been able to say with the victor of *Castles in Spain*, "my hope is at least based upon something."

Like Dorlanges' valet, he will have been able for an instant to believe himself lord of his village, with a footman in attendance.

Anyway, all epochs have proved the need of a lottery. Here is a declaration by Francis I, a king who was not always lucky in the lottery of battle. This statement is stamped especially with great meaning if one harks back to the period when he made it. At that time, no one had any money; not even the king, the king least of all.

As a matter of concern to certain middle-class and notable personages of our kingdom, we have been told, shown, and given to understand, that some of our subjects, noble as well as middle-class, merchants and others, addicted to and desirous of games of chance and diversions, have, for lack of honorable play duly authorized, oftentimes studiously considered beforehand and applied themselves to many dissolute games in such manner and with such pertinacity that some have consumed and still use up all their time, forsaking in this way all virtuous and gainful work and labor, some losing all their goods and substance; and, in order to put a stop to the said harmful practices and to abolish and alienate the pernicious usage from which they have risen and do arise, no better means can be found than to permit and bring forth some other games and diversions in which we, our said subjects, and public business, will not be allowed to have any share, we propose, among other games, that of *la Blaque*.

The lottery was thus called at that time because the white tickets, *bianca carta* in Italian, did not give a right to any prize as long as the blacks were winning. If my article should not serve to teach you any more than that, it would already have amounted to something. Francis I, nevertheless, could not take credit for inventing it, for, as he said at such length in his authorization, "playing the lottery, permitted for years in Genoa, Florence, Venice, and other well-governed cities," *la Blaque* had already overrun Italy.

Like all things human, the lottery has had its good as well as its bad

fortune. It was proscribed during the minority of Charles IX; restored by Mazarin who made money out of everything; sponsored by Louis XIV; suppressed by the revolution; re-established by the directory; and abolished by the Chamber [of Deputies] of 1838.

In its course, it has given rise to some strange tales which have passed into the realm of legends, to some fantastic combinations which chance has brought to pass but in which the shrewdest mind would search in vain for logic. A poor veterinarian in a regiment of cuirassiers happened to take note, one day, of four numbers branded with a red-hot iron, according to custom, on the thighs of remounts. He bought a ticket in the Frankfort lottery and almost went crazy with joy six weeks later upon winning 150,000 florins. The first and only thing he did in his newly found opulence was to buy as many pairs of trousers as there are days in the year. Therefore, now, he is known throughout all the cavalry as the man with 365 pairs of breeches.

A woman of the lower classes dreamed about six numbers and, upon waking, she wrote them on six little pieces of paper, fixed each ticket on the end of a stake, and set them above some stringbean seed planted at equal intervals in the border of her modest garden. She said to herself, "I will take the numbers of the first five beans which sprout and play the lottery with them." Five beans came up. She copied the numbers and gave her son twenty-five francs, all the money she had, saying to him, "go to the neighborhood office right away and get me these five winners."

"Yes, mamma."

The son, a freethinker, said to himself, "my mother is crazy with her lottery stuff." He spent the money, returned, and told the good woman he had done what she wanted him to do.

Consult Dante and, in his pandemonium of human anguish, you will not find any equal to the pain which overwhelmed that poor creature. When she learned the truth, she went insane, and a few years later her son chopped her to death with a hatchet.

A jeweler, ruined by erroneous speculation and about to be arrested, decided that he would not survive the loss of his honor in business. It was 22 October, and at eleven o'clock that night he went through a beating rain to the most isolated part of the Pont Neuf and there dived into the Seine River. As Providence sometimes places great devotion beside great misfortune, there was a thirty-five year old sailor nearby, who flew to rescue the unhappy merchant and fortunately brought him aboard his barge numbered seventy-seven.

The jeweler returned to his home and, yielding to one of those mysterious presentiments which scepticism disowns because it does not understand them and which metaphysics have never been able to define, he played the lottery with numbers 22, 9, 11, 35, and 77.* The five numbers came up in the order he had placed them and he won four millions.

In the last drawing of the 93 lottery, something so fantastic came to pass that it deserves mention. A young artillery sergeant chose numbers 9, 18, and 31. He won. This does not connote anything but a normal matter. Here is the extraordinary feature of the occurrence: he had been sentenced to death by the revolutionary tribunal and was due to lose his life on 9 Thermidor [July 19-Aug. 17]. On 18 Brumaire [Oct. 23-Nov. 21], he shared in General Bonaparte's triumph. Then, on 31 July, he was made a marshal of the empire and received, along with the ducal coronet, the name of one of his victories.

A riding-master who has been a European celebrity for a long time, Mr. A - - - F - - - -, while on his way to the circus one morning, saw three numbers crudely painted in red on some quarters of beech belonging to a lumber yard on Des Fossées-du-Temple Street. He wrote them in his notebook and sent one of his grooms to get a tray at the nearest lottery office. He won a great sum and, when he went to the lumber yard to saw off the fortunate blocks—which, richly framed, appear still in his drawing-room—he saw the fourth winning-number, traced also in red upon the fourth billet of beechwood, which the shadow had hidden from his view.

After these instances, taken haphazardly from a thousand, deny then or affirm that one is fully as perplexing as another. The intervention into human affairs by this invisible being, this mysterious power which the incredulous call fatality; the believers, providence; and the indifferent, chance! How many people will feel, shortly perhaps, keen regret for not having heeded the advice which capricious fortune sometimes gives at night in a dream or in the daytime through abnormal incidents! Let them hurry, then, if they would avoid repentance later, because, after exhibiting the enormous prize of 400,000 francs, the tickets are taken up with rapidity and with an eagerness easily understood. In a few days,

*TRANSLATOR'S NOTE: The "9" appears to be a Homeric nod because October is the tenth month, but is often written "8bre" (November is 9bre). Let the reader recall that the suicide attempt was made on October 22 at 11 p.m., and a sailor 35 years old hauled the jeweler aboard his barge numbered 77.

none will be left, and as speculation has never failed to buy up a large number, one will not be able to get any tickets except by paying a relatively great premium for them.

Requests for tickets come in swarms also from all the corners of Europe, and we cannot fail to see this eagerness without a sort of unrest. One may condemn our patriotic egotism if one please, but, as for our personal disappointment, we will feel acute pain upon seeing the great Golden Ingot worth 400,000 francs, twenty good thousand livres income, 80,000 five-franc pieces, or only one of its 223 brothers, take the track to Lisbon, Madrid, or St. Petersburg. This regrettable exportation by the Lottery of the Golden Ingots has given rise recently, along the Spanish border, to a picturesque adventure which has been related diversely by the peninsular papers.

A bandit chief, who had learned from one of his confederates that the Bayonne stagecoach was carrying securities of considerable value, decided to seize them. Sallying from the bottom of a ravine where he and his gang had been lying in ambush, he ordered the driver to pull up and the passengers to lie face down in the middle of the road. In two winks of an eye, he emptied the suitcases, saddlebags, pouches, etc., etc., and distributed among his band 300,000 tickets of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots which the conductor had tried in vain to screen from his cupidity.

Before enriching some families favored by chance, the Lottery of the Golden Ingots will already have spread over the industry and commerce of the city a little rain of gold which fecundates and revives them.

Thus with the shopkeepers, for example, who are given charge of ticket sales and thereby earn the commission which the administration offers them; then, the people who come into their shops to buy tickets almost always buy something else there. The tobacco merchants have just asked for placards and tickets. All of us who smoke know how greatly seductive the sale of tobacco is; how, having gone in to buy one cigar, one takes five, and with what ease, consequently, one might take a single or several lottery tickets which they tell you with persistence, [is] authorized by the government: you may win 400,000 francs.

Add to that element the people who engage in domestic work. Those who are intelligent dispose in a day's work of 150 to 200 tickets; and a maidservant, who did not earn six francs a week by her usual labor, earns by selling tickets four, six, or eight a day according to the number of tickets she places.

By taking a ticket, you, perhaps, will see it transformed into a shower of banknotes.

In the meantime, there have yet been some timid souls, some timorous pockets. It was necessary that the minister of the interior give the legislative assembly some explanations regarding the Lottery of the Golden Ingots. These explanations had begun to answer the most cross-grained questions, but the information furnished later by the administration dispelled even the shadow of a doubt.

The creator, the father of the idea of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots, is Mr. Langlois, ship captain and wholesale merchant at Hâvre, one of the most honorable and honored men of the merchant marine. Previously, Mr. Langlois has rendered eminent services to French commerce.

His experience and his sagacity have achieved signal success in the original establishment of the Lottery of the Golden Ingots. The supervisory council (*conseil de surveillance*) has had only to leave him alone. Likewise, everyone is pleased to do justice to him in that no establishment of this class has ever been managed with so much care and prudent competence.

Doubt in this respect is inadmissible also upon learning that only an average of fourteen per cent is allocated to defray all costs, while the other lotteries deduct twenty-five to thirty per cent for similar necessities. Out of the daily revenues, the director gets this allocation; the remainder is deposited in the Bank of France the very next day.

With scarcely five or six per cent, he must pay the costs of publicity, printing, rent, employees, and numerous very expensive items which an operation of this sort necessitates. The Lottery of the Golden Ingots, then, will not enrich any except those favored by luck, and it will not make the fortune of its founder. May his enterprise, now on the high road to prosperity, reach a happy issue soon; may his mission be fully accomplished by putting important sums at the disposition of the government in order to encourage the efforts of the workingmen—he asks nothing more—and he will yet find a very handsome reward!

Within a few months at the latest, his true expectation will be realized, although people have taken a long time to get the idea into their heads that, actually, for one franc, a big chunk of gold worth 400,000 francs could be won. The former lotteries did not provide for their drawings value intrinsically equivalent to what has been quoted. Here, such is no longer the case. This is a case of gold; insolent, brutal,

without grace-notes, with no ornament but itself, borrowing nothing from art, owing nothing to anyone, radiant as the sun, naked as truth, and saying:

"Look at me; touch me; open me up; cut me; melt me — you will have done a fine job. I am worth 400,000 francs, 'And I, 200,000,' says the neighbor; 'and I, 100,000, and I, 50,000'."

After all, it is a concert of 1,000-franc notes in the most perfect harmony and the most pleasant effect.

The administration should be grateful to the women; it is they who make the most of propaganda. Women are so fond of gambling and the unforeseen! And, in reality, the tickets of this lottery are the most charming and the least ruinous presents one could give, because the possible value of the ticket adds an enormous amount to its actual worth. You give a few tickets which cost only a few francs but if they win, see then what you gave! She will be eternally grateful to you and who knows what might come from the eternal gratitude of a woman?

Take these tickets, then, for I confess to you that this article has no other objective than to encourage you to take some of them. Take a lot of them, and, as one does not know what may happen, you, perhaps, will win this golden monster which lets itself look at the Jouffroy Arcade.

I wish that you might get it, but not as much that I may; yet, after all, if I don't, I hope just as much that you do.

A. DUMAS fils.

Paris — Imprimerie Bonaventure et Ducessois,
55 Quai des Grands Augustins

NOTES

1. For Moerenhout's first incumbency, see Nasatir, this *QUARTERLY*, XII (1933), 155-72, 331-57; XIII (1934), 56-79, 159-75, 262-80, 355-85; for his second, *ibid.*, XXVII (1948), 141-48, 203-14, 353-60; XXVIII (1949), 69-79, 151-60.

2. Moerenhout material from his first incumbency was reprinted by this Society as *Inside Story of the Gold Rush* (San Francisco, Spec. Pub. No. 8, 1935).

3. See A. P. Nasatir, *French Activities in California: An Archival Calendar-Guide* (Stanford, 1945), pp. 293-95.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 444-46.

5. Mason's trip is recounted in his letter to the adjutant general, Aug. 17, 1848, in 31st Cong., 1st sess., *H. Exec. Doc.* No. 17, pp. 528-36. See also Mason's report in 30th Cong., 2d sess., *H. Exec. Doc.* No. 1, pp. 56-64. This was widely published and quoted in Europe and in the United States.

6. J. Tyrwhitt Brooks, *Four Months Among the Gold Finders* (London, 1849), was considered authoritative for over eighty years; but see this *QUARTERLY*, XI (1932), 65.

7. Auguste Lacoste, *Fragments Inédits d'un Voyage autour du Monde . . .* (Paris, 1849); and, by the same author, *Voyage en Californie . . .* (Paris, [1849?]).

8. Hypolite Ferry, *Description de la Nouvelle Californie . . .* (Paris, 1850).

9. See bibliography in Nasatir, *French Activities in California*, *op. cit.*; Gilbert Chinard, *When the French Came to California* (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1944). *L'Illustration* is analyzed in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, pp. 445-46; and all articles in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* are listed by the author in the bibliography in *ibid.*

10. Duflot de Mofras published long articles in the *Journal de Toulouse*, in *Le Constitutionnel*, and also wrote to the minister. See letters of Duflot de Mofras to minister in Nasatir, *op. cit.*, 84-85, 295-99, etc.

11. See Nasatir, *The French in the California Gold Rush* (New York, 1934); also his *French Activities in California*, *op. cit.*, pp. 444 ff; Chinard, *op. cit.*, etc. A list of the companies, with notations by the French police, is in the archives of the prefecture of police.

12. Léon Lemonnier, *La Ruée Vers L'Or en Californie* (Paris, 1944).

13. I am preparing a second volume to my *French Activities in California . . .*, which will calendar these materials and also have a much-needed index to both volumes.

14. A file is in the archives of the prefecture of police. I have notes and micro-film of California materials from this journal. In the issue for Nov. 11-12, 1850, occur these passages:

"An English operator bought 500,000 billets of the Loterie des Lingots d'Or which he is going to sell at the price of one shilling instead of one franc.

"The same was done in Italy before the agents of the Loterie treated directly with the public. Billets sell up to one franc fifty centimes and two francs.

"An English tourist advertised a request for ticket number 13 of the lottery

for which he offered first 50, then 100 and then 200 francs. The said ticket was offered for 500 francs and all believe he will get that much for it.

"Ticket number 1,131,313 was interesting in that it contains 13 three times and was being sought by certain fatalists. But up to the present only 100 francs de prime has been offered."

15. Many of Dillon's letters are in the archives of the prefecture of police; and in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs is his entire official correspondence. A biography of Dillon is being prepared by Dr. Shepard and myself. To assist their countrymen who were in difficulty, in San Francisco and elsewhere, was the Société française de Bienfaisance Mutuelle (*see also* Daniel Levy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco, 1884), pp. 167 ff.

Joaquin Miller's "Real Name"

By WILLIAM W. WINN

IN MY ARTICLE, "The Joaquin Miller Foundation," published in this *QUARTERLY* (XXXII, Sept. 1953, 231-41), I said that Joaquin Miller's real name was Cincinnatus Heine Miller. I am told that this statement has been criticised, on the ground that his real name was Cincinnatus Hiner Miller. Before offering sources in support of my statement, a résumé of already-published views on the question would seem to be advisable.

The *Century Dictionary and Cyclopaedia*, published in 1906-1909 and still considered a very reputable authority, lists him thus: "Miller, Joaquin (originally Cincinnatus Heine Miller)."

In *Who's Who in America*, 1912-13 (Miller died on Feb. 17, 1913), the poet appears as Cincinnatus Heine ("Joaquin") Miller.

Hamlin Garland, in "*The Poet of the Sierras*," published June 1913 in *Sunset*, *The Pacific Monthly* (vol. 30, pp. 765-70), commences his article, "The death of Cincinnatus Heine* Miller . . .," the content of the footnote—viz., "According to George Melvin Miller, his brother, the poet's middle name was Hiner not Heine. His mother called him 'Nat' but his friends in Oregon called him 'Hiner'"—apparently not having convinced either the *Sunset's* editor Charles K. Field or Garland that the brother's statement was to be credited.

Marian Taylor, "Joaquin Miller, Poet," *Overland Monthly*, February 1914, says on page 112: "... question naturally arises as to the origin of a name [Joaquin] so dissimilar to his baptismal one of Cincinnatus Heine."

The account of Ernest Sutherland Bates in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, published in New York in 1933, says: "His middle name was given in honor of the country physician who was in attendance at his birth; the form 'Heine' which appeared in his early books, may or may not have been a printer's error." The last clause leaves the reader puzzled—which version did Bates consider accurate? In a footnote he says that "information as to certain facts was supplied by Dr. Martin S.

Peterson of the University of Nebraska, who has prepared a doctoral dissertation on Miller."

Peterson's work, now in print (Stanford, 1937), is called *Joaquin Miller, Literary Frontiersman*. Pages 10-11 give biographical data on Miller, including the words, "Joaquin Miller, or Cincinnatus Hiner Miller as he was named . . ." Peterson then recites, and evidently gives credence to, the Dr. Hiner episode, not neglecting to mention "Nat"—the content, the reader will remember, of the footnote to Garland's article in the June 1913 *Sunset*; but, instead of citing Garland, Peterson cites Marian Taylor *et al*, in *Out West*, VII n. s. (Feb. 1914), pages 75-93, on none of which could mention be found of "Hiner," the poet being called "Joaquin" throughout. In a footnote on page 10, Peterson says, "At various times during his life the poet encouraged the use of 'Heine' in place of the less illustrious 'Hiner' . . . even after the adoption of the name 'Joaquin' there are returns of the euphonious name." When it comes to the date and place of birth (which Peterson gives as March 10, 1839, at Liberty, Indiana), he cites George Melvin Miller "in a letter [no date specified] to the present writer."

Joaquin Miller, his California Diary, Beginning in 1855 and Ending in 1857, edited by John S. Richards, was published in Seattle in 1936. Included are photostats of Miller's signature, e. g.: "Cincinatus [*sic*] Hiner Miller" (June 12, 1856, when he was nineteen) on page 47; and "Hiner Miller" (Oct. 23, 1857) on page 99.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th edition, 1937 (as did the 11th edition of 1911) lists Miller as Cincinnatus Heine Miller, with citations in the 14th edition to the *Sunset* and *Overland* articles quoted above.

On page 10 of her book, *My Father. . .* (Oakland, c1941), Juanita Miller gives in her own way the derivation of his name. She recounts a conversation as occurring between her grandfather, Hulings Miller, and her grandmother, Margaret Witt Miller. The latter says:

"Where are our boys?"

"They asked if they might go to the reservation with Chief Shinglemassee's son for a little while."

"Heine said he thought they were going with you to get a package after school. He came right home after speaking with Molly Fields on the way and has been asking me why you and his brothers call him 'Hiner,' and I, 'Heine.' So while I was working on these wee things I told him about how you had swapped a sack of flour for a book of Heine's poems, had given me the book, how much I had enjoyed and memorized 'Du bist wie eine Blume' and 'Die Lorelei' and others, hoping that our baby — on the way — might be a poet some day. But that you had

said you wanted him named, if a boy came to us, 'Cincinnatus,' for two reasons: Because of having been born in Cincinnati, Ohio; and, also, your admiration for the great Roman scholar and patriot. So we compromised: 'Cincinnatus Heine' or 'Ella,' if it was a girl. Then as Dr. Hiner brought him into the world, everyone except myself forgot about the poetry and seemed to think he had been named after the Doctor."

A later printing of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (1946) calls him Cincinnatus Hiner Miller, among authorities cited for the information there given being, as in the 1937 edition, Hamlin Garland's "The Poet of the Sierras" in the *Sunset*; and Marian Taylor's "Joaquin Miller, Poet," in the *Overland*. One wonders what made the *Britannica* cite authorities and then disregard them in such an important matter as the subject's name.

In 1953 appeared M. M. Marberry's *Splendid Poseur*, published in New York. Without citing a definite source, he says on pages 2-3 that Miller was born September 8, 1837, and "was christened Hiner (not Heine) Miller. . . . In reality, Joaquin borrowed the Heine in signing his first two works; he owed the Hiner to an obscure doctor by that name who attended him at birth." Marberry gives no specific reference to substantiate this statement, but trusts to his bibliography to satisfy the reader; consequently, what he means by "in reality" etc., etc., cannot be traced directly or with confidence.

Library of Congress cards on Miller show a change in nomenclature. "Real name: Cincinnatus Hiner Miller" now appears at the bottom of the recently printed cards, with "rev." (revised) inserted after the former number.

Confronted by contradictory statements such as these regarding Joaquin Miller's middle name, I decided to rely on the evidence supplied by legal documents, eight examples of which are given below.

1. As stated in my previous article, Francis S. Spring executed a deed on May 13, 1887, to Joaquin as "Cincinnatus Heine Miller," covering the land where Joaquin established "The Hights." The fact that Joaquin had this title made to him as "Cincinnatus Heine Miller" is strong evidence that he considered it his real name.

2. On May 23, 1889, Joaquin conveyed to John Werner three acres of land and executed the deed as "Cincinnatus Heine Miller." (Records of Alameda County, California, "Deeds," Book 372, p. 208.)

3. On January 10, 1913, there was conveyed to Juanita Miller the land mentioned in my previous article (Records . . . , "Deeds," Book

2157, p. 26). The deed was executed by "Cincinnatus Heine Miller" and "Abbie Leland Miller."

4. In the office of the county clerk of Alameda County, California, is filed an original affidavit of registration, dated September 25, 1900, giving Joaquin's full name as "Cinnatus [*sic*] Heine Miller, his signature ("C. H. Miller") being affixed, as duly-sworn applicant, testifying that the above was his full name.

5. A similar affidavit of registration, dated September 17, 1904, giving Joaquin's full name as "Cincinnatus Heine Miller," and signed by him as "C. H. Miller," is in the same file.

6. A similar affidavit, dated July 19, 1910, giving Joaquin's full name as "Cincinatus [*sic*] Heine Joaquin Miller," and signed by him as "C. H. Miller," is in the same file.

7. A similar affidavit, dated July 27, 1912, giving Joaquin's full name as "Cincinatus [*sic*] Heine Miller," and signed by him as "C. H. J. Miller," is in the same file.

It will be noted that in all of these affidavits of registration (4-7 incl., dated between 1900 and 1912) Joaquin swore that his middle name was Heine; and, although the deputy clerk who filled in the space for "Cincinnatus" misspelled it in three instances, no error was found in the spelling of "Heine."

8. There is, also, in the records of the county clerk of Alameda County (superior court, probate, general index number 17380, register 35, page 522), a decree of settlement of final account and of final distribution, which begins, "In the Matter of the Estate of Cincinnatus Heine Miller (also known as Joaquin Miller) deceased. . . ." Further down in the decree are the words, "And it appearing that the said Cincinnatus Heine Miller (also known as Joaquin Miller) died intestate on the 17th day of February, 1913 in the County of Alameda. . . ."

Journal of William H. Ennis

Member, Russian-American Telegraph Exploring Expedition

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes,

By HAROLD F. TAGGART

(Concluded)

At anchor in the port of Sitka, Ennis' vessel attracted the attention of a crowd of squaws, most of whom, he said, "had their faces frightfully blackened, for what purpose I know not."

On making inquiries relative to the matter only said that it was a custom handed down from their forefathers. In 1855 these men made an attack on the city and showed a bravery on their part but seldom seen in the Indian. Many of them were killed, now they are on friendly terms with the Russians, having their quarters outside the walls of the town; their houses being from 50 to 60 feet in length with a small hole for the entrance, each capable of holding from 60 to 100 persons. There are about 15 to 20 such houses in their village, some of them I visited are kept clean and tidy, especially that of the Chief, whose room is gaudily decorated with pictures from all pictorial papers of the world. The women of this tribe are mostly well made and passably handsome. Some were really beautiful. The town of Sitka is situated on the west side of "Baranoff Island" and has a good harbor. It is the Capital of the Russian American possessions, and the Governor General resides here. The town is built of log houses, some of them being large and roomy and well built. The Governor's house stands on an eminence, is three stories high and is the largest residence in town. It also contains two churches, one Greek, and one Lutheran, one ship house, a Club House with finely layed out gardens, with card rooms and supper apartments. Here in summer the ladies and gentlemen congregate, eat, drink tea and play cards until late hours of the night. In the club house there is an old fashioned Billiard table which affords a little amusement to the members. There are quartered here about 500 men and in the Harbor about five ships. On our arrival we found the Governor's ship and most of the officers and men had departed to the different posts of the com-

pany, the Governor making annually one inspection of these different posts. Dr. [Henry F.] Fisher, Surgeon in Chief of the Expedition came on board to visit his friends and receive his letters. This gentleman had been stationed in Sitka since March, taking Barometric observations and making himself familiar with the country and customs of the Russians. I had previously met this Gentleman in San Francisco and afterwards found him to be a man of much learning and a true friend.

As may be supposed I was anxious to get on shore and see the city and become acquainted with some of its inhabitants, but owing to a continuous rain, I was unable to go ashore so was obliged to pass the time in watching the squaws who heeded neither the weather or the elements. Next day however, Mr. Labonne and myself landed in the town and managed in about an hour to see all the sights, after which we entered a small cabin and succeeded in obtaining a good dinner with very bad liquor to drink. After dinner I was invited by Dr. Fisher to play billiards, had a pleasant time, and taking everything into consideration I spent a very agreeable day. "Labonne" who speaks the Russian fluently made the day doubly pleasant and I am under many obligations for his kindness in answering my many questions. Col. Bulkley came on board the next day and took dinner with the Captain. I again went on shore and in company with Mr. Lewis visited the Greek Church as it was their Sunday, our Saturday. Their ceremonies are similar to those of the Roman Catholic religion, their altars are decorated in the same manner. After Church went on board the steamer "Wright" and was invited by Col. Bulkley to take supper, which invitation I gladly accepted, after which in company with several officers I returned on shore where we proceeded to the Gardens, and met there the ladies and gentlemen of the town and received a cordial welcome. Played several games of Preference, with Dr. Fisher, Lewis and a Russian, after which supper and Tea drinking.

Our first visit was a most pleasant one and subsequently found the inhabitants kindly disposed towards us, and did everything to render our stay pleasant. By degrees we became more intimately acquainted and received night after night invitations to tea parties, at one of these entertainments I had the honor of being introduced to Madam the Princess Maksutoff and had the pleasure of her company for the Lancers. She speaks English and is a most beautiful as well as highly entertaining lady. She is the wife of Prince Maksutoff, the Governor General. On the 4th of July was born to her a daughter in honor of

which the "Clara Bell" fired a salute, the little one was called "Clara Bell." During our stay in Sitka so many canoes encircled the ship that the 1st Lieutenant ordered the force pump to play a stream of water on them in order to drive them off, this in my opinion was bad management on his part as it was our policy to conciliate the Indians as much as possible. The day after the occurrence the Indians were seen haranguing the men and setting forth their grievances. This looked badly for us, strangers as we were on our first visit into a strange country to secure the ill will of the natives. The Col. noting the way affairs were taking determined to assemble the Chiefs on board and receive them in magnificent style. So on the next day all the officers from the various ships assembled in full uniform on board the Golden Gate, while the Col. and Capt. Scammon with Epaulets and side arms strode the Gangway ready to receive the *red men*. Soon they came on board when speeches were made. After which the chiefs were taken into the Cabin and sat down to a sumptuous repast—thus ended the Great "Pow Wow" with the Colloshes.

About this time Messrs. Cotter, Chappel and Pollack, taking two days provisions, started to make the ascent of a large mountain back of the city. This mountain is of a curious formation, being densely covered with heavy forests as indeed are all the mountains surrounding the city, the top being pointed and perfectly bare of vegetation. This mountain these Gentlemen measured by Barometrical observation and found it to be 3600 feet above the level of the sea. Lieut. McRae, commanding the "Anadyr" exploring party, commenced making preparations to leave on board the "Milton Badger" for the mouth of the Anadyr River with orders to explore a telegraph line in that section and communicate with Major Abasa at "Petrosouvouski" in Siberia. His party consisted of the following gentlemen, viz; Messrs. Arnold, Robinson, Harder, Davis and Smith. At 5 A. M. Aug 21st the "Wright" took the "Badger" in tow and left her in plenty of sea after which she took the "Clara Bell" whose destination was Victoria. And in turn she took us in tow, in passing the town they fired a salute of 21 guns which was answered by us. I felt quite sorry to leave Sitka, for I had formed many pleasant acquaintances, and had been treated in the most friendly manner. I shall always remember with Gratitude my lady friends Madams I. A. K. and M.

At Sitka we took on board the little steamer "Lizzie Homer" to try and make the ascent of the "Kviehpak" [Yukon]. Dr. Fisher, the Sur-

geon in Chief, was ordered on board, whose principal duty I believe is to write the History of the Great Expedition. At sea we were mostly in tow of the Steamer or in her company. Aug. 28th sighted "Ukamok," an island in the "Kodiak" sea. This island is entirely void of vegetation of any kind, and is the perfect picture of desolation. There is situated on this island a small Russian penal settlement and is visited once a year by Russian vessels who carry supplies for the poor unfortunates who through ill luck are forced to make this place their home. After passing this island we sailed in the sight of land; it was my fortune to witness some of the most grand and beautiful scenery that I have ever seen. With a light wind and the air sufficiently cold to warn you of your near approach to the Arctic. We sailed along under the lea of Mountains covered with perpetual snows. Small islands and immense rocks to be seen everywhere scattered here and there like so many dots on the Mariners Chart. Volcanoes on our left and beautiful water falls on our right. Thus men and officers remained on deck watching this beautiful sight till the sun setting into all its glory, shed a beautiful lustre around the whole, combining to form a sight once seen never to be forgotten.

Arrived at the Harbor of "Unga" on Aug. 30th, 1865, where the Russian vessels secure coal. The Col. wishing to examine the country and see its adaptness for coaling purposes, layed over one day, making a survey of the place and taking soundings of the harbor, at night all hands were engaged in fishing and with good success, having caught a great quantity of Rock Cod of great size. Next morning weighed anchor and in tow of the Steamer left Unga and stood on our course heading for Unnamack [Unimak] Pass. The weather and clouds both looked unfavorable and the Captain soon saw that we would encounter winds. At night the wind commenced to howling a most fearful manner rendering it impossible for any one to sleep owing to the manner in which the ship pitched. After dressing in the morning I went on deck to take a survey of the weather. I found the elements raging still furiously with a heavy mist surrounding the ship. I had scarcely been on deck ten minutes when the "Lookout" gave the thrilling cry of "Breakers on the Lea." Looking in the direction designated I found to my horror a huge mass of Rocks on our lea with the waves dashing wildly over them, and our staunch craft burrying herself in the great sea foam, and she not over 500 yards off. It was no time for thought. Action, immediate action was what was needed. Capt. Scammon with one

glance seeing the danger of the ship, gave the necessary orders and had the mainsail immediately set with all hands officers and men hauling on the sheet. After the necessary sail was placed on her, everyone with a pale cheek watched the gallant craft to see if she would answer her helm and come up to the wind. Had she failed to do so, sudden death would have been our lot, but like the Gallant Craft as she is, she steadily by degrees came up and at last we had the satisfaction of seeing ourselves safely pass those dreaded instruments of death. For five years have I followed the sea and during this time I have seen many gales and have been in much danger, but never did I see a ship so narrowly escape destruction as did the Golden Gate when she passed the Rocks of "Sanak" on the Aliaska Islands. The following day the Captain assembled the officers and crew at general muster and complimented them on the manner all strove on that day to save the ship and lives of those on board to use his words. He never in his 30 years of experience as a sailor "saw a ship so near the Breakers without going on them."

After passing safely these rocks our next great anxiety was for the steamer which we had lost sight of during the gale. All had serious misapprehensions regarding her safety. So we continued to fire every half hour signal guns, but after continuing it for 24 hours and eliciting no answer we gave it up as hopeless and all felt low-spirited on her account. At last after battling against adverse winds we finally found ourselves safely through the Unimak Pass and into the "Behring Sea." Here we discovered a sail on our lea bow and fired several guns to attract attention. She was at first not much inclined to approach us, fearing we might be the Pirate "Shannadore [Shenandoah]," who had been in these waters destroying American whalers. After however discovering the Telegraph Flag at the fore, she bore down on us, found her to be the "Milton Badger" with the Anadyr party on board. Capt. Scammon went on board and gave the captain orders to proceed immediately to St. Paul on the Aleutian Islands and make inquiries there relative to the steamer while our vessel would sail to the Northward and proceed to "Michaeloskie" the Russian Fur Company's post in the Esquimaux country. In parting we waved a final adieu to McRae and party all wishing from their hearts their success and happiness. After a few miles sailing from Unimak Pass we discovered the Great Volcano "Shishaldinsky" 8952 feet above the level of the sea. Situated on the Fox Islands in Latitude 52°. As we gazed on this mountain we discovered immense volumes of smoke pouring from its mouth and now

and then jets of flames producing a beautiful sight. In Behring sea we experienced heavy gales, one of which was so great that we were forced to lay to under "close reef main top sail" until the gale abated somewhat. This sea is very shallow the soundings averaging from 20 to 30 fathoms, the least heavy wind producing an ugly sea, which as soon as the wind abates, the sea subsides with it. Tuesday, 12th, Came in sight of Cape Romanzoff Lat. 62° and in the afternoon hove in sight of Steaurts Island distant about 35 miles. Being dusk we came to anchor off the island intending to beat into Michaeloskie in the morning. I drew up a series of resolutions complimentary to Capt. Scammon and read them to the members of our party, all willingly signed them, these we will read to him before parting, expressing our regrets at leaving him and success during his future days on earth. In the morning got under weigh and commenced beating into the harbor, about midday came to anchor off the "Post." Soon to our great delight discovered Major Kennicutt and Commander of the Post coming on board. Then we knew the steamer was safe and had arrived before us. As soon as the Major stepped on board, he was greeted by all hands, and many questions asked concerning the steamer, from him found that they had arrived four days previously and had departed to "Plover Bay" to communicate with the company's vessel "Palmetto" at that port. Many Esquimaux in their skin boats came alongside dressed in their fur clothes; to us they were quite a curiosity, but of these I shall write of more definitely. It being bad weather nothing was done in the way of landing provisions, all hands were busy talking to the Major and examining the surrounding country. Mr. Adjutant Wright received several orders from the Col. relative to the appointment of different men to different positions was busy executing them. Made my preparations and commenced packing my clothes to leave the ship tomorrow as this point will be the starting point for our expedition. The weather here is very cold in September, the Russians being all bundled up in their furs, wearing the same style of dress as the Esquimaux, viz., fur pants, boots with parka and hood of the same material. This dress was indeed to us a great novelty and we long gazed on them with deep interest, knowing full well that in a few days we would doff our civilized costumes and adopt the dress of the natives. So it is — two years ago I was in sunny France and now I find myself among the Esquimaux in the Arctic.¹⁸

PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE
RUSSIAN-AMERICAN TELEGRAPH EXPLORING EXPEDITION*By* WM. H. ENNIS, *Lieut. W. U. T. Co.* No. 3 [No. 2, missing]

On the 2nd of December 1865, I left "Unalackleet [Unalakleet]" with my party and started on my journey, making a north course.¹⁹ The following report which I submitted to the Major on my return will show the result of the exploration.

Unalackleet

Dec. 23rd, 1865

Major Robert Kennicutt:

Comd. Russian-American Exploration

Sir: I have the honor to submit the following result of the exploration of the Norton Sound Exploring party, during the month of Dec. 1865 in and about Norton Bay. On the 2nd inst. I left this place in company with Messrs. O de Bendeleben, Jay Chappell, Richard Cotter together with T. Nekafer and V. Hanson with two Malemute sleds, following the ice which we found in excellent condition until we reached Chauk-talik-mute, a two days journey with good roads, from this place. There we were received in a hospitable manner by the natives, who furnished us with a house for sleeping and food for the dogs. I was compelled to lay over a day in order to repair one of the sleds and secure fish for our onward movements. I should not have remained over and risk losing the good weather and ice, but I found it impossible to trade with the inhabitants on account of a festival among them. I managed however by dint of entreaties and promises to repair my sled and procure fish sufficient to carry us to Inglutalik-mute. On our departure from Chauk-talik-mute we experienced rough roads and extreme cold weather with strong head winds, but with making long marches, we finally arrived at the above mentioned settlement, all hands badly frozen, hungry and weary. Here I experienced the same difficulty as at Chauktallick-mute, being festival week and no work or trading being tolerated. I was therefor as before compelled to lay over a day to buy sled runners and fish. At this point we found fish very scarce and could barely secure enough to take us on and leave a few for my return. We were therefor necessitated to proceed in a Westerly direction to a settlement called Kuick-mute, where I was informed, we could procure abundance of fish. After another long day's journey we arrived at the above settlement, where we were again very much annoyed to find that a festival reigned supreme, the inhabitants being in a most friendly

mood, caused by a small amount of ardent spirits, brought from "Port Clarence" by two Kavicacks Indians lately arrived,²⁰ one of whom spoke a little English by whom I was informed that the Indians at Sound Golovina as well as those at Port Clarence had no fish and were subsisting on Reindeer skins and walrus meat; endeavoring at this place to procure sufficient fish to allow me to penetrate for several days in the direction of Port Clarence, but found here as elsewhere a great scarcity of fish prevailed. By offering large prices, I managed to procure four sacks with which we started in a Northerly direction for Kiouk-mute, at which place we arrived after two days travelling, finding it a "deserted village" being so for the last thirteen years on account of sickness and death. One of the huts I took possession of and determined to lay over a day or so to examine the country and learn something regarding the river.

On the 12th I remained over when two Indians from Kuick-mute arrived bringing me two dogs which I had lost at that place. From these men who live on the Kiouk river I learned that there is a lake a great distance from the mouth, but that the river originates in the mountains from which a small stream takes its sources, running westward and flowing into Sound Golovina and another stream which empties as they suppose into Kotzebue Sound. That there is no continuous water from Kiouk-mute to Grantley Harbor as indicated on your chart, all seem to think that the rivers from Sound Golovina to Grantley Harbor are not navigable for even skin boats, and this seems to me to be true, for were these streams navigable, the Indians would not take the route along the Coast when trading to Port Clarence when the river travelling is so much shorter. I determined however to see something of the river myself and with that intention I left with Mr. O de Bendeleben, two Russians and one sled lightly loaded and proceeded on the road. I had travelled but a short distance when a South East Gale with snow came upon us, which, in addition to the water and sleet on the ice, rendered it impossible with four men pushing and 7 dogs pulling to make any headway; so I deemed it prudent to return as it would with such weather and roads take several days to go but a short distance, which would add nothing to my stock of information. The snow, together with the bad ice, rendered it necessary to remain over another day, and finding that my dog feed was out, I determined to push for Sugluvatiek-mute and commence my return. You will perceive the difficulty that attended my every movement on account of the great scarcity of fish

for dogs and I assure you, Sir, it was the greatest obstacle in my road. The Indians all informed me had they known that I was coming they could have had an abundant supply for me but at the present time they had hardly enough to sustain life.

I discovered from the Mountain East as far as Sound Golovina that the country is well adapted for telegraph purposes, the line could run over a moderately level country well sprinkled with Indian settlements, wood and water. From Kiouk-mute to Sound Golovina there is a road to the west of the Mountains, which as I was informed was good, but should there be any unforeseen obstacle there, the line could easily run along the coast. Pine trees abundant but none of them, as far as I could see, suitable for poles, all being stunted in growth. I have not the slightest doubt but the country toward Grantley Harbor from Sound Golovina is also good; trees sufficiently large for poles, being plenty, as I have been informed.

The trip to the Eastward in the direction of the Koyukuk River or Nulatto [Nulato], I did not attempt for reasons, which in my mind, were good and I trust will appear in the same light to yourself. First, I found it impossible to secure a person in or around Norton Bay who could give me any information regarding the country East of the Mountains, or any one who would undertake to accompany me over, all seeming to be in total darkness regarding that section of the country; second, dog feed could not be procured in sufficient quantities to warrant my attempting it with dogs and sleds; and third, from what I have seen of that country I thought it advisable to delay that portion of the Exploration until such time as I could give my opinion in writing and submit for your approval.

Regarding that portion of the survey east, I would suggest that Mr. Cotter whose knowledge of Mountains render him a proper person for that trip, should in the Spring proceed to "Nulatto" and from that point follow the Koyukuk River, strike across the Mountains and arrive at Inglutalik-mute, where I would have a cache of provisions for his subsistence until my return from Grantley Harbor. I propose his starting from "Nulatto" because I believe that the Indians in that section of the country have more knowledge of the country to the Mountains and once among the Koyukuk Indians could easily produce a guide as far as the Mountains. Should this place not appear feasible I would then propose that he attempt the crossing of the Mountains from Inglutalik-mute with a light sled, the great difficulty there being that dog feed will

be scarce. As to packing over it is impossible to hire Indians in this section to go into that country.

Concerning the Explorations from Kuick-mute to Grantley Harbor two modes suggest themselves — one being to leave here in March or April with dogs and sleds and trust to fortune for dog feed. The other to wait until open water, which occurs about the last of May, proceed in skin boats and see for ourselves whether the rivers and lakes toward Grantley Harbor are navigable or not. These suggestions I give for what they are worth, based on the information I have gained of the country in that region and I trust you will give them your consideration as well as enlighten me by your advice.

Should a Post be established in the vicinity of Norton Bay, I would advise that Kuick-mute be selected for that purpose, it has more advantages than any other place I have seen. Besides being good anchorage about three miles from the village, it has the advantage of being a central point between Inglutalik-mute, Chauktalik-mute and Sound Golovina, having also plenty of wood, water, fish and during spring and summer months abundance of Geese and Grouse. The Indians at this point are friendly to the Whites and their old Tyone is known of as being honest and truly good man.

In my way from Chauktalik-mute to Inglutalik-mute I camped for the night on the banks of the river, taking its origin in the Mountains and flowing into Norton Bay and about 125 yards wide called by the Natives Unvocklu-lock. This river is unknown to the Russians and is not layed down on any charts either English or Russian. It abounds in fish of large size, and as it is unknown I would suggest you name it.

I enclose with this a list of observations taken of the Thermometer by Mr. Cotter from which you will see that during our absence we had extreme cold weather. On the road from Norton Bay, to this place we had bad weather and rough roads making it necessary for every gentleman to place his "shoulder to the wheel" and assist the dogs in propelling the sleds. The alacrity and willingness with which every one worked shows a disposition on their part to suffer and endure anything for the sake of carrying out the objects of the Expedition. A sketch of Norton Bay showing the Mountains and lay of the country was taken by Mr. O. de Bendeleben which will give you a better idea of the Mountains east and north than I could describe.

In conclusion I would state that I believe the Expedition has amply paid for itself in as much as it has given all of us an idea of the "Modus

Operandi" of travel in this country, besides this useful knowledge we have gained a stock of information regarding that country which will go far toward facilitating our future movements.

Making due allowance for inexperience of travelling in this country I trust that what we have accomplished has been for the best interest of the company,

And remain Very Respy.

Your Obdt. Servt.

Wm. H. Ennis, Commanding Norton Sound Division
Russian American Tel. Ex. Ex.

On my return to "Unalakleet" I was met by the Major who received us in a most cordial manner and found that Messrs. Dyer and Ketchum had been ordered to "Ulukuk" to transport provisions from that point to "Evan's Barabara" two days journey from "Ulukuk." I felt quite tired and weary after my long tramp and resigned myself to quiet for a few days. I shall never fail to remember my trip from "Unvocklu-lock" to "Inglutalik-mute," a distance of forty miles. The day was bitter cold with a strong gale of wind blowing directly in our faces and the Ther. standing 34° below zero. From early starlight in the morning till late at night did we trudge along, our dogs completely worn out and ourselves almost frozen. We finally arrived at our destination and found that all the members of the Party, even including the natives, were badly frozen. One in particular, Mr. Cotter, was so badly bitten by the frost that he lay down and cried with anguish, making me feel much alarmed about him. As for myself my cheeks, hands and nose were in rather bad condition as in fact were all the party. I have since experienced much colder weather, having been on the road when the Ther. stood 52° below zero, but never did I feel the cold so intensely as I did while in Norton Bay.

It was my fortune, while absent, to attend the grand "ten year festival" of the Esquimaux. At the festival, something similar to our Christmas, presents are given, consisting of skins of oil, Drill, fish, Reindeer meat, boots, Parkas, Pants and other articles too numerous to mention. The manner of presenting them consists of the Giver dancing for a few minutes in the presence of the intended recipient and then silently throw the article in his or her arms. After the dance and presentation refreshments are handed around, consisting of Oil blubber, fish, berrys which are devoured in a most ravenous manner, after which the dance

is resumed and kept up all night. The men while dancing are stripped to the middle and form a circle in the centre of the room, inside of the circle the women perform their parts with eyes cast in modest reflection to the ground. Ranged around the sides of the house, the men sit cross legged stripped of all their garments, while the women have the poorer place in the house, the men no doubt considering themselves the "liege Lord." I have seen men in the dance perfectly nude and although the temperature outside may be 40° below zero, still in an Esquimaux dance house, when the dance is at the zenith, the Thermometer will be as high as 75 degrees.

In the village of "Unalackleet" I had the opportunity of observing the natives preparing for their great festival called by them "Drowning little Bladders in the Sea." Lieut. Zagoskin in his diary thus describes this custom and I quote his words as it will give a much better idea than I can express. In the front part of the Kadgin on a string of moose or other skin, there were suspended about a hundred bladders, taken from animals killed by arrows only. On these bladders are painted various fantastic figures. At one end of the strap hangs an owl with a man's head and a gull carved from wood, at the other end are two partridges. By means of threads running to the cross beams these images are made to move in imitation of life. Below the bladders is placed a stick six feet in height bound about with straw. After dancing in front of the bladders a native takes from the stick a small whisk of straw and lighting it passes it under the bladder and birds so that the smoke rises around them. He then takes the stick and straw outside. This custom of drowning little bladders in the sea, is in honor of the Sea Spirit called "Ug-iak" but I cannot discover, says Lieut. Zagoskin, how the custom originated or why they use bladders from animals killed by arrows in preference to those killed by other means. To all questions upon the subject the natives answered "It is a custom which we took from our fathers and grandfathers." It seems to be of great antiquity as the natives can give no information as its origin, or the reason for its adoption. Before these bladders they dance all day in their holiday dress which consists of light Chukotch, warm boots and short underdress for the men; and Chukotch Reindeer trousseau colored in Malemute style for the women, ornamented with glass beads, rings. Thus writes Lieut. Zagoskin and what he observed in the year 1842 I witnessed the same in 1866. Like him I could give nothing reliable regarding this custom except that it was one of great antiquity.

After resting a few days Mr. O. de Bendeleben and the two Russians with Mr. H. M. Bannister left for "Michaeloskie Post"; while on the road the latter gentleman was so badly frozen, that he was left at Equickton a village about 20 miles from St. Michaels. Mr. Stepanoff, the Russian agent immediately sent his own sled and dogs to bring him to the post, where he was attended to most faithfully. At one time it was very much feared that he would lose his nose and ears and in fact his life was thought to be in danger, but owing to the kind attention of those around him, he at last recovered, no doubt a "wiser" and better man and greatly disgusted with the Arctic.

In January the Major and myself left for Nulatto each taking a sled and five dogs, carrying a load of provisions.²¹ After two days travelling we arrived at "Ulukuk" where we met Messrs. Ketchum, Adams and Dyer who had just returned from "Evans Barabara." It was determined that we should lay over a day at Ulukuk to buy fish and repair our sleds as it was the intention to take five sled loads of provisions to Nulatto direct. We managed by much talk and large prices to secure about five bags of fish for twenty-five dogs, giving each dog per day a fish and a third, equal to half a pound. We started, however, determining to push the provisions through at all hazards, and immediately set forth for "Evans Barabara," where the provisions were cached and at which place we arrived after two days travelling; here each took a load of bear 350 pounds and all five sleds, each with five dogs, started for "Kaltag" a four days journey. I shall not soon forget my trip to Nulatto. My long days march, my many and cold nights rest. We arrived at length at "Nulatto" where I remained but two days availing myself of the kind offer of Mr. Stepanoff who extended me an invitation to accompany him to the Redoubt. His fine dogs, all in splendid condition, compared with our poor half-starved dogs, rendered the comparison odious. Away we went, the dogs on the full gallop and in four days and a half we arrived at "Unalackleet," the same trip taking the Major and myself 9 days to accomplish. After leaving "Unalackleet" for Nulatto we followed the river until we arrived at Ulukuk, occasionally crossing the *perrinose*. The first village is about twenty-five miles from Unalackleet, and the second about 15 miles from the last, the latter being situated about five miles from the base of the Ulukuk Mountains and on the banks of the river, the country around being well covered with spruce and birch trees. After leaving Ulukuk we followed the "*perrinose* road," first passing near the base of the mountain and then in thick

forest until we arrived at "Evan's Barabara." The country from the Barabara to the Kviehpak river is well covered with heavy forests, tall trees, the road being mainly through a beautiful valley with snow capped mountains on either side. Just after emerging from the valley called "Perra Valley" we came upon "Zagoskin's Lake" a lake without water and but a short distance from the Kviehpak. After leaving the village, "Kaltag," which is situated on the River we followed the Kviehpak for two days before arriving at Nulatto.²²

Nulatto, built by Lieut. Zagoskin in the year 1842 is situated on the left bank of the Kviehpak river and surrounded by a splendid wooded country. It is the depot for furs collected from the Enjlick and Koyukuk Indians. At this point a Russian agent and an English officer were killed by the Koyukuk Indians the latter being buried near the post and on his grave stands a small wooden cross, bearing the following inscription:

Lieut. J. J. Barnard, H. B. M. Ship "Enterprise"

killed by the Koyukuk Indians Feb. 16/51

This officer was attached to the command of Captain Perrin of the Royal Navy, who in 1850 came to this country in search of Sir John Franklin. The same guide that accompanied him in his travels in the North was also my guide. I have since travelled over the same country and have seen the place where his ship was icebound for so many months.

In March I busied myself making preparations for the Spring Explorations and kept my dogs and men working all the time hauling provisions etc to this point. I experienced many difficulties in carrying out my plans. My dogs one by one had to be shot on account of a disease reigning among them, similar to Hydrophobia and the rest were so miserably poor and emaciated they could scarcely stand. My command extended over many miles of ground and I found myself with but six dogs to carry on the Explorations. In this emergency I wrote to Mr. Stepanoff requesting him to hire me a team of seven dogs and showing him how necessary it was that I should have them. This gentleman replied that his dogs would all soon leave for the "Anvik river" with some of his men, to trade furs, but that he had written to the Agent at this point to deliver over to me his five dogs. These, together with a few dogs I purchased and four that Mr. Ketchum handed over to me out of the Major's teams, placed me in a condition to commence my explora-

tions. By trading bread and giving high prices, I succeeded in securing 40 pounds of fish, which in addition to the Reindeer meat, managed to place a little strength in my dogs and today, the 22 March I find my dogs in excellent condition.

On the 1st of March I received the following order from the Major.

Headquarters Rus. Am. Tel. Ex. Ex.

Lieut. Wm. H. Ennis

Nulatto, Febry 20, 1866.

Comd. Norton Bay Division of the Rus. Am. Tel. Ex. Ex.

Sir:

In addition to the gentlemen heretofor under your command, Mr. Jos. Dyer has been ordered to report to you for duty in your Division with a view of his being employed in the survey between Norton Bay and the Yukon River. Mr. Chas. Pease also has permission to volunteer into your division, should you desire it and his health permits. Mr. Lewis F. Green upon his urgent request for active duty, is under your orders until time to resume his work on the steamer. You will please secure his certain return to St. Michaels in time to launch the steamer by first open water. In addition to Hanson the Russian who is already engaged to accompany you, you will employ such other Russians and Indians as you find expedient. Mr. Bean is instructed to issue on your requisitions such provisions etc. as you may find necessary to draw from him, taking your receipt for the same. At our outfit at Unalackleet you will take what is necessary to carry on your work and leave for Mr. Dennison memorandum receipt, for the same. You will purchase from the Russian Company such other articles as will be necessary.

You are now in charge of the entire explorations for Telegraph line between Grantley Harbor and the Yukon River. The manner of your carrying on the exploration I leave entirely to your own judgment, which with your experience in regard to the region must be better than my own. With regard to the Exploration between Norton Bay and the Yukon River, I would suggest that the exploration be started sufficiently early to give time for a second attempt by way of Shak-toolik valley in case of failure to penetrate to the Yukon from a point on Norton Bay, further to the northward. I can hear of no Indian here who knows anything of the proposed route west of this parallel and can give you no information beyond the fact that a continuous range of low mountains run from Kaltag northwestwardly to the Koyukuk river as observed by Mr. Geo. R. Adams and that beyond these mountains are others as far as can be seen from those to the Westward on the

proposed route. I would advise that the party exploring the region should start from Norton Bay as proposed when I last saw you, but should you see sufficient cause to change your plans and start the expedition from here, it will be necessary to send the provisions necessary for the expedition. I will myself on the 22nd start on a short reconnoissance to the Northwest from this point and will send you an Express immediately on my return, should I learn anything of importance. I shall not start for Fort Yukon before March 15 and possibly not till later. On my recent expedition I learned nothing new of importance.

Understanding so fully as you do all the objects of the expedition it would be superfluous for me to detail to you points to be observed during your explorations. You are aware as seen by ourselves already that the telegraphing alone must often be of secondary consideration in the determining of the best location for the line. I would however urge you to record particularly every point bearing on the facilities for transportation and obtaining provisions and labor from the Indians.

Giving you my best wishes for your success, I remain

[signed] Robert Kennicott

After the receipt of this order, no time for idleness was allowed — on my return from Nulato I found my dogs in a starving condition and nothing on hand to feed them. Reindeer was scarce and fish none. I immediately in company with Hanson my interpreter took a team of dogs and one sled and made a trip to the mountains in search of Reindeer meat. After a few days of travelling through and over the mountains I struck the hunting grounds of the “Male-mutes” and at last bought a sled load. During this trip I crossed three high mountains and in descending them, I was obliged to take all the dogs out and all hands taking hold of the sled, prevent her dashing down the mountain sides. In one of these descents, the Sled got away from us and came thundering down the mountain, running over Hanson and myself, sustaining no injury whatever except a few slight bruises. In taking our load up the mountains we were compelled to carry the load on our backs and then push the sled up. The cold bitter winds of February blowing on the summits made it anything but pleasant work. However we toiled on at last reached Unalakleet, weary and tired after ten days absence. I fully knew the necessity of energetic action on my part to have everything prepared for my start by the 1st of April. I had a tract of unexplored country from Behring Straits to Nulato to explore, a

distance of five hundred miles, over mountainous country and barren wastes without food or dog feed.

March 14, 1866, the entire Yukon party in charge of Mr. Ketchum arrived at Unalakleet bringing me information that the Major Commanding had abandoned the trip to Fort Yukon with dogs and sleds and that they had returned to Unalakleet for the purpose of transporting a large skin boat and a three hole Bidarka (Skin Boat) to Nulato for the purpose of carrying on the exploration as soon as open water would permit. Mr. Ketchum was authorized to deliver to me as many dogs as I needed for my exploration and I found myself with twenty dogs all in splendid condition ready for good hard work on the road. The Major wrote in a most dispiriting condition and the failure to penetrate to Fort Yukon preyed greatly on his mind—too much so I fear. I wrote an encouraging letter to him telling him that open water was the season for going to the English post and that he need have no fears regarding my portion of the Explorations—the Boats were safely taken to Nulato and all hands placed to work on them and soon they were got ready for immediate use as soon as the ice would break up.

Major Kennicott sent me instructions containing the following words:

Headquarters Rus. Am. Tel. Ex. Ex.

Febry 21, 1866.

In case of my death before the arrival of Col. Bulkley or of orders superseding those given me, Lieut. Wm. H. Ennis will take command of this expedition.

[signed] Robert Kennicott²³

Comdt. Russian Am. Tel. Ex. Ex.

Major Kennicott made several excursions into the Koyukuku country . . . in search of a pass for telegraphic purposes but of no avail were the expeditions for nothing was seen but continuous ranges of snow-covered mountains rolling over one another for God knows how many miles.

I had not been idle. I succeeded in securing a guide for Cotter and Dyer through the Koyukuku region and one for myself ready to start by the 1st of April—The 1st of April arrived and with it a heavy snow storm accompanied by a gale of wind from the N. E. In this manner it blew, until the morning of the 3rd, when clearing up a little, I gave the order to prepare everything ready for a start and at 12 o'clock on the 3rd of April I left Unalakleet with Messrs. O. de Bendeleben, Dyer, Cotter, and Chappell, with Hanson the interpreter, 5 Indians, three

sleds, 21 dogs and provisions for two months. Mr. L. F. Green I left in charge of our post at Unalakleet, with orders to procure food for our return. After an absence of 60 days the entire party arrived at "Unalakleet" when upon hearing the reports of Lieuts. Dyer and Cotter, I found that the Expedition had been a success and I had reason to be pleased with everyone and everybody.

When my expedition left Unalakleet the Russians in a body turned out and gave a salute of 17 guns. The first day out was good, but on the second a snow storm with heavy drift snow commenced, increasing in fury every hour. We toiled along however, facing the cold north wind, and although at one time I thought we could not find the village of Shaktoolik-mute, on account of the dense snow drifts, Yet fortune favored us and at last we saw the village. We hailed it with delight for all hands were badly frozen, hungry and weary. Had we not found the huts, I am certain that we should have frozen to death, for with such a storm raging, it would have been a matter of impossibility to make a fire. After finding ourselves snugly quartered in an Esquimaux hut, the storm increased in fury and never in my experience have I seen such a terrible snow storm. Such a storm can only be witnessed in the Arctic. Next day it continued even with greater fury, so bad, that none ventured from the hut. On the 7th of April, although still snowing heavily I gave the order to start for I was only consuming my dog provisions and accomplishing nothing by laying idle. Finding the gale increasing I camped in Norton Bay at a small lonely hut on the sea side and all hands commenced to empty the house of snow, which we found full. The work being completed we crawled into this miserable hovel and closely huddled together, began to diffuse a genial warm around. Fire we had none in the house and ours was a dismal night. At this point I determined to divide my party—sending Cotter and Dyer to the eastward through the Koyukuku country to Nulato on the Kviehpak river. I wrote them instructions and letters to Kennicott, the Commander.

April 8th the weather proving favorable, I bid adieu to Cotter and Dyer and with the remainder of my party struck in a westerly direction across Norton Bay for the village of Kvieh-mute, where Chappell was left to sound through the ice and explore a pass through the mountains to the Westward.

On the 9th accompanied by Mr. O. de Bendeleben, interpreter Hanson, one sled of nine dogs and provisions for 40 days I left Kvieh-mute and followed the sea for two days until I arrived at "Ath-nock-e-mute"

finding on the road the snow to be deep and soft, making it necessary to walk on snow shoes the entire distance. At "Ath-nock-e-mute" I struck across the mountains in a northward direction, making a cut off to Sound Golovina and in full view of which I came on my arrival at the top of the mountain. Descending the elevation I struck the Sound and crossing it arrived at the village of "Kvick-lock-e-mute" where my guide left me and where I received another man kindly furnished me by the chief of the village. Sleeping for the night in the house of the chief I started the next morning for another village ten miles distance, where I was to meet my guide to Behring Strait, to whom at Unalakleet I had previously given permission to go ahead to prepare the Indians for my arrival and secure game for my dogs. Upon my meeting him he informed me that he would not accompany me, saying that "the road was long, no dog feed, no Indians, that my dogs would die, my provisions become exhausted, the rivers break up and indeed the sum and substance was that men and dogs would starve."

To all this I quietly listened and assured him and the Indians that it was my determination in spite of all this, to go on and offered as an inducement an excellent single barrel gun, which the Indians all greatly admired, to any one who would dare accompany me as a guide. No one offered himself. I had almost given up in despair, when one man came forward and said he would go if I would give him the gun. I gave this man to understand I had been trifled with by the other guide and while on the one hand if I did not fulfill my promises to him he might "blow my brains out," and on the other if he did not work well, or he deserted me on the road, I should most assuredly pay him a similar compliment. Nothing daunted, however, he went and never in my life did I meet with a better worker in any man. He fed our dogs by hunting, made camps and camp fire (when wood was plenty) and in fact did everything that a man could possibly do to merit approval. "Al-Seek-Al-Seek," I shall never fail to remember thee, as long as I am living in this infernal country. After leaving the village where I secured my guide, I struck across the *Perrinose* [torn] until I arrived at Sound Golovina, which Sound I followed in a northwest direction. Struck the head of "E-Kathluick-mute," which empties into the Sound.²⁴

[End of Journal]

Ennis and his party undoubtedly followed this tributary to the north and west, then followed the system of lakes and streams to Port Clarence. We do know that in the next year he covered the distance between

Unalakleet and Port Clarence. On September 16, 1866, men and material were landed from the ship *Rutger* at Port Clarence, close to Grantley Harbor, under the command of Captain Daniel B. Libby.²⁵ By the first of November, fifteen miles of line had been constructed from Libbysville to the head of Grantley Harbor, where, according to the *Esquimaux*, the greater number of the party camped in what was called *Tentopolis*.²⁶ News of the completion of the Atlantic cable reached Libbysville via the *Wright* by January 6, 1867, and was noted by Harrington in the *Esquimaux* with the observation: "... The information brought by her is however to be doubted." It is evident that the promoters in New York and the employees in the far reaches all hoped that the cable would fail again.²⁷ Certainly no immediate orders were issued for curtailment of the exploration and construction; as a matter of fact, it was nine months after the successful completion of the cable before the company ordered the withdrawal.²⁸ The *Esquimaux* of May 3, 1867, under the heading, "Distinguished Guests," tells of the arrival of Captain Ennis and Lieut. W. W. Smith at Libbysville, on the sixteenth of February, after twenty days travel from Unalakleet. "... This was Capt. Ennis' second visit to this part of the country, the first being in the spring of '66, when he made a trip of exploration for the purposes of discovering a route for the line to pass through."²⁹ Ennis indicated, at the time, that there were 35 men in the Unalakleet party, that they had erected three miles of poles, but that the *Nightingale* had been unable to land the wire because of bad weather. "During the winter [at Unalakleet] they have had theatrical and minstrel performances. Among the pieces given were 'Roderick Dhu' and an original burlesque on this celebrated play entitled 'Roderick Doo'." Original songs were given and a good time enjoyed, concludes the editor.³⁰

It was not until March 1867 that the Western Union made its decision to abandon the enterprise. William Orton, vice-president of the company, wrote to Secretary Seward, "... the work of construction on the Russian line, after an expenditure of \$3,000,000 has been discontinued."³¹ Dall, who had left Nulato with Frederick Whympier in May for Fort Yukon,³² returned July twelfth to find the order to "transmit without delay all moveable property of Telegraph Company to the Redoubt." A few days later at St. Michael's he learned that "our costly and doubtful enterprise was abandoned."³³ In August the *Clara Bell* and the *Nightingale* sailed for San Francisco.

The *Evening Bulletin* reported in October "... that the Western Union has completed the withdrawal of men and material from Russian

America and left their partially constructed line to the mercy of the elements and the good will of the Indians." The *Clara Bell* and *Nightingale* brought to San Francisco 135 men and officers. "... seventy-five miles of line were constructed in Russian America. The St. Michael's party under the command of Capt. Ennis constructed near 50 miles of line in the neighborhood of Norton Sound, working in a northerly and westerly direction. Another party, under Capt. Libby, starting out from Port Clarence and working southward constructed some 30 miles."³⁴

So ended rather ingloriously this adventure in American enterprise—evidence, nevertheless, of the zeal and optimism of those in the east who were willing to risk capital, and of the hardihood and endurance of the expedition's personnel. Ennis made a trip the next year (1868) to the Pribilof Islands as purser of the *Caldera*. He was married in San Francisco on December 8, 1868, to Susan D. Coates, but, despite the ardor of his affection, shown in long fervent love letters, he shipped out in April 1869 on the *Brig Commodore* for trading in the Norton Sound region as agent for Parrott and Waterman. With this last voyage, Ennis fades out of the pages of history.

NOTES

18. Clipping in Scammon's scrapbook (note 11 above) lists the men who were left at St. Michael's: Kennicott, Ennis, Dyer, Dennison, Ketchum, Jay Chappell, Cotter, Frederick Smith, Bean, Bannister (*cf.* note 15).

19. This port (on Norton Sound, about 75 miles NE of the Russians' island-post of St. Michael's) became the headquarters for Ennis' party.

Because of the difficulty in reconciling native place names with the Russian, English, French, and Spanish attempts at their transliteration, it has been found advisable to follow, where possible, the usage already in print—viz., either that given by William H. Dall, a member of the telegraph expedition and later connected with the U. S. coast survey of Alaska, in his *Alaska and Its Resources* (Boston, 1870) with detailed index; or the nomenclature on modern maps. An example of variation is the above port: Ennis spells it "Unalackleet"; on modern maps it is "Unalakleet"; and in Dall, "Unalaklit."

20. Port Clarence Bay, east and south of Bering Strait; inside the bay was the harbor of Grantley, which was frequented by whalers and had been a center of trade between the natives of Russian America and Asia. It was selected as the terminus for the cable across the strait. Here Capt. Daniel Libby landed with a construction party in September 1866 and established the Grantley Harbor division.

21. Nulato, inland from the coast, at the point where the Yukon River dips south. Major Kennicott set up his headquarters at Nulato (usual spelling).

22. There was still some uncertainty as to whether the Yukon turned north to empty into the Arctic, or was the Kviehpak (spelled variously) in its lower reaches.

23. Major Kennicott died at Nulato on May 13, 1866, at the age of 32. He had explored, as a naturalist for the Hudson's Bay Co., much of the Northwest Territory. Dall was designated by Colonel Buckley to succeed Kennicott. The *Esquimaux*, Nov. 4, 1866, published a tribute to Kennicott, "Memoir of the late Major Robert Kennicott," by O. de Bendeleben.

24. Last page of the journal, torn and only partially readable. Dall, *op. cit.*, p. 4, indicates that a rumor reached Plover Bay that an exploring party had visited Grantley Harbor in the spring of 1866.

25. Scammon, the *Golden Gate's* log (note 11 above), p. 105.

26. The *Esquimaux* (J. J. Harrington, publisher and editor), Jan. 6, 1867.

This little sheet claimed to be "... the official organ for all matters connected with the Western Union Telegraph, Russian Extension, in the vast extent of country to be traversed by this great enterprise and it is therefor a better medium for advertising than any paper in the world. ..."

27. *Ibid.*

28. The cable reached Heart's Content, Newfoundland, July 27, 1866.

29. The *Esquimaux*, Mar. 3, 1867. There were about 50 men under Libby's command.

30. *Ibid.* The first pole at Nulato was raised ceremoniously on New Year's Day, 1867, "... ornamented with flags of the United States, Telegraph Expedition, the Masonic Fraternity, and the Scientific Corps." Dall, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

31. Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 211 (citing Reid, note 7 above, p. 516).

32. Dall, *op. cit.*, p. 74. Rumors had already been current that the United States had bought Alaska. Frederick Whymper's *Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska* (New York, 1870), gives a sprightly account of his journeys.

33. Dall, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-19. Prior to Dall's trip, Captain Ketchum and Michael Lebarge had visited Fort Yukon twice — once in 1866 and again just prior to Dall's trip. On their second trip up the river, Ketchum and Lebarge went on to Fort Selkirk.

34. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, Oct. 12, 1867. The company's ship *Onward* gathered the groups in Siberia and brought them out in October. Most of the men in Canada were paid off in October at New Westminster. The 800-mile line in Canada from New Westminster to Quesnel was kept open until 1871, when the government took it over. Mackay, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

Palo Alto's "Mysterious Frenchman"

By MIRIAM ALLEN DEFORD

NO TALE in California history has had stranger diversities than the one about the man who sold to Leland Stanford the land on which he built his university. Why Peter Coutts—or Paulin Caperon, to give him his right name—came to California, why he built his tower and his tunnels in Mayfield, Santa Clara County, what happened to make him sell out and return to France, why he put the property in the name of his children's governess, Eugénie Clogenson, and who she herself "really" was (including a wild guess that she was the Empress Eugénie, incognita)*—all this has been told over and over again, and nearly always inaccurately. Largely this was the fault of Caperon, as he enjoyed mystifying his neighbors. The true story, as interesting, if not so romantic, as the fantasies which have been popular around "the Farm" since its founding, can now be told in detail, the source of information being Marguerite Jeanne Eugénie Caperon (Mrs. Charles E. Berlin), Caperon's own granddaughter and great-niece of Mlle. Clogenson, through marriage of the latter's niece, Ernestine Germaine Clogenson, to Paulin Caperon's son Albert.

Her grandfather, Mrs. Berlin insists, was not "an absconding paymaster of the French army," his tower and tunnels were not built "to withstand a siege by his enemies," and her great-aunt was not an empress. In fact, Caperon would have been the last man on earth to harbor the Empress Eugénie, for he was a voluntary exile because of his bitter opposition to the policy of the Third Empire.

Jean-Baptiste Paulin Caperon was born near Bordeaux, the son of one of Napoleon's officers. His mother, a woman of great acumen and energy, not only ran the estate, which produced fine wine from its own vineyards, but also established on her adjoining property a mulberry plantation for which she received, from an agricultural society in the department of the Gironde, a prize for assistance to the silk industry. In 1848, when the young man, an ardent republican, was twenty-six,

*E. g., *Westways*, XXXIII (Sept. 1941).

both parents were killed in a carriage accident, leaving him independently wealthy and free for the two pursuits nearest to his heart—republican polemics and book-collecting. A classical scholar, Paulin also spoke, read, and wrote at least six languages, including Arabic. He became a disciple of the republican publicist, Emile de Girardin, whom he followed to London; by 1860 he was back in France.

There he married Marie Elise Alexandrine Marissal, a wealthy orphan and ward of her aunt, Mme. Brisard, who continued to live with the young couple. Caperon bought a chateau near his native Bordeaux, a villa at le Pecq, and rented an apartment in Paris, where both his children were born—Albert Jean-Baptiste Nicholas, Mrs. Berlin's father, in 1864, and Marguerite Jeanne in 1870—and where he founded a private bank, adding considerably to his already-large fortune. But he did not forsake his republican ideas, and in 1872 he became republican candidate for deputy from the department of the Gironde. The royalists fought him bitterly; he was defeated, but he continued to be embroiled in political disputes. A serious heart ailment had kept him from military service, and, ever since the birth of their daughter, his wife had been an invalid. In 1873, on the advice of his physician, he liquidated his bank. Every client was paid in full, but one transaction turned up later to alter his entire history. It was at this point that Paulin Caperon decided to leave France. First he went to Belgium, leaving his family in the care of the governess, the aforementioned Eugénie Clogenson, whom everybody called "Tante Ninie." Born in 1848, at Saint-Leger sur Sarthe, Normandy, she was the daughter of a linen weaver and a competent teacher when Caperon employed her in 1871.

In Brussels, Caperon met the widow of a distant cousin named Coutts, descendant of a Huguenot family which, for generations, had lived in Switzerland. It seemed wise to Caperon, in the face of the vicious attacks being made upon him by his political enemies, to take another name in the new life he was contemplating. The name he selected for his passport was that of Peter Coutts, his late cousin, whose initials, it will be seen, were the same as his own. His wife and children continued to be known as Caperon in their identity papers.

He took ship to New Orleans, listened there to stories of the wonderful climate of California, and determined to visit it with a view to settling in the west. When he reached San Francisco, he decided to bring his family from France and live in the bay city until he could find a farm to suit him. Meanwhile, Mme. Caperon, the two children and

Mme. Brisard embarked, under the charge of Mlle. Clogenson, in an English ship. The voyage was an ordeal for "Tante Ninie": none of the party spoke English, and she was the only one of them who was not seasick throughout. But she got them all safely across, together with more than a million francs in cash, and landed them in San Francisco.† The furniture of the Paris apartment was sent to Brussels, in the care of Caperon's faithful private secretary, M. Artigues; also, most of the book collection, though part of the library was packed in special trunks and came with the family.

Once established, Paulin Caperon, now "Peter Coutts," ranged the country near San Francisco until he happened upon Mayfield, as the present Palo Alto was then called. Here was exactly what he was looking for. He bought 1,242 acres half a mile southwest of the town, and turned it into a dairy farm. His herd of Ayrshire and Holstein cattle was considered the finest in California at that time. He built a summer cottage, "Escondite," a small-scale replica of the Petit Trianon at Versailles, but kept the San Francisco house for winter residence. Matadero Ranch, or Ayrshire Farm, as it was variously named, was the home of the Coutts-Caperon family from 1874 to 1880.

It was a happy life. Mme. Caperon was a fine musician, and was well enough to spend much time at her piano. Little Marguerite had a beautiful childish singing voice, and she and her governess studied and sang together. Albert became a student at Santa Clara University. The farm prospered, and Paulin began to have more leisure for the intellectual pursuits he loved. He planned to have the rest of his books sent from Brussels; and, to accommodate them and the library already in Mayfield, he had a large room built in the lower part of a tower whose upper portion housed the water tank. This was the real origin and purpose of the famous tower, which fantastic stories turned into a fortification. Paulin spent many hours in the lower portion, reading and studying.

There was an artificial lake or reservoir on the ranch which bred mosquitoes, and whose water was subject to undue evaporation and to pollution. To safeguard his family's and employees' health, Caperon had tunnels dug which distributed the water throughout the farm. And these are the famous tunnels which were rumored to be means of "escape"—to or from what, nobody ever reasoned out. The crumbling brick bridge over the lake still stands, but the former reservoir is now

†According to Mrs. Berlin, he bought a house at "205, 305, or 505 California Street."

a hayfield. The tunnels and tower still exist in part, and the cottage itself is still used by Stanford University.

In all probability the Coutts-Caperons would have spent the remainder of their lives on the San Francisco peninsula. But one day an enterprising newspaper reporter from San Francisco called on Peter Coutts, and offered to "keep quiet" in return for a considerable sum of money. Coutts, who loved a prank and had deliberately allowed his neighbors to circulate their absurd guesses about him and his ranch, laughed outright and asked what it was all about. It was no joke, said the blackmailer; Coutts' own cook had been talking and had reported that "Coutts" was not the dairy rancher's right name; that he had left France under a financial cloud. (The story about the absconding paymaster of the French army — as we have seen, Paulin Caperon was never in the army at all, because of his bad heart — was a later invention.) Now the reporter began to hint about Coutts having diverted funds from a Swiss bank. Paulin Caperon stopped laughing and got angry.

The Swiss bank story went back to the days when he had owned his private bank in Paris. The *Credit Foncier Suisse*, headed by an ex-president of the Swiss Confederation, was one of his bank's correspondents. The ex-president was no financier, and before long the *Credit Foncier* went bankrupt. But while it was still in business, it had ordered Caperon's bank to buy for it five million francs' worth of stock in a railroad in Alsace. With the Franco-Prussian War, this stock became worthless. Caperon had advised against the purchase, and had made it reluctantly; he was in no way responsible for the Swiss bank's loss.

He went at once to the French consul in San Francisco, and received another shock. Unknown to him, an officer of the consulate had been corresponding about him with various officials in France. Not only, he learned, was the *Credit Foncier*, now bankrupt, claiming that he was responsible for its 5,000,000-franc deficit, but his political enemies had also continued their activities against him. By the action of a deputy from the Department of the Gironde, his enormous French properties had been confiscated by the government.

By 1880, after ten years of conflict, the liberal republicans with whom Paulin Caperon had been associated had finally gained the upper hand, and the Third Republic was firmly established, with no further danger of a royalist coup. There was no longer any political reason why Caperon should remain in exile, and, valuable as his California property was, the confiscated estate in France was worth considerably more.

There was no question that he must return and fight for restoration of his fortune. Early in 1880, the whole family left California. They did not depart through the mysterious tunnels, but in the private car of the president of the Southern Pacific Railroad.

Because of possible confusion resulting from his real and his assumed identity, the invalidism of his wife, and the advanced age of her aunt, together with his own heart malady and the necessity, therefore, of having his family's interests in reliable hands, Caperon had placed the deeds to the Mayfield property in Mlle. Clogenson's name. A short time after the Caperon-Coutts family's departure from California, the property was sold to Leland Stanford. The fine cattle and blooded horses went for almost nothing, and most of the furniture and equipment was given away. Senator Stanford used the site as a stock farm until 1885, when he founded the university in memory of his son.

Using his own name again, and with his own papers, Caperon took his family to London, from which vantage point he began the fight to recover his property. It took him more than two years, and he did not return to France until 1883. Eventually he got back his entire estate. To forestall any possible later claim by the Swiss bank, he paid 10,000 francs to the bankruptcy assignee, though actually he did not owe a sou.

The Caperons of his and his children's generations never left France again. At first they lived in Paris, but when the daughter, Marguerite Jeanne, became ill from tuberculosis, they went first to Arachon and then to Evian les Bains for her health. There, at fifteen years of age, she died, and Caperon's just-finished chateau was never lived in. Heart-broken, he could not endure either the place where she had died or the house in which she had lived in Paris. He bought another house in Paris for his wife and son, but for the most part he himself lived alone with two servants in an apartment in Bordeaux, going almost daily to visit his daughter's grave. And in Bordeaux, Paulin Caperon died, in September 1889, at the age of seventy-seven. With him were his wife, his son, and Mlle. Clogenson.

Mlle. Clogenson had returned from California with the family and had remained with them until their daughter's death. Then she went back to her native village and devoted the rest of her life to her own parents—the father living to be ninety-seven; the mother, ninety-three. When Mrs. Berlin was born, Eugénie Clogenson was her godmother, and named her for herself and for the young tuberculosis victim. Mrs. Berlin says that when she saw Mlle. Clogenson shortly before the latter's

death in 1940, she still read without glasses, had only a few gray hairs, and was as keen of mind as ever. "She still looked," says Mrs. Berlin, "neat and trim, like the grand lady she was."

Albert Caperon and his wife, Eugénie Clogenson's niece, had two daughters: the younger, Mme. Camille Dromain, died in Paris during the German occupation; the elder, Marguerite (quoted above) was married to a barrister in the court of appeals in Paris, named Biget, who was killed in World War I. In 1919 she married Charles E. Berlin, a Pennsylvanian, a lieutenant in the American expeditionary force, who had been gassed in the war. They came to Los Angeles to live, but in 1925 they returned to Paris, where his death occurred. Mr. Berlin had adopted his wife's son by her first marriage, the young man taking his stepfather's name. At the start of World War II, Pierre Biget-Berlin was impressed into the French army, though his mother had been naturalized, during his minority, as an American citizen. He was captured and spent five years in a concentration camp in Germany. When he was freed, the Red Cross helped mother and son to reach America. For several years, Pierre practiced as a landscape architect in San Mateo, but his prison experiences had injured his health, and he joined his mother on her Oregon ranch. Now Mrs. Berlin has sold this ranch and returned to California. She is living only a few miles from the place where the "mysterious Frenchman" once dwelt as a gentleman farmer and puzzled his rural neighbors.

The Covered Wagon in Court

ON SEPTEMBER 24, 1953, in the U. S. district court for the northern district of California, a decision was handed down by Judge Louis E. Goodman which is of more than usual interest, because it takes the covered wagon out of the customary dust and heat of the mid-continent and places it in the marble and mahogany-paneled interior of a court room.* The case involved one insurance company's use of a picturization of the above vehicle on its stationery, policies, etc., and the attempt of said company to enjoin another insurance company from using a similar picturization on its policies, etc. The plaintiff began use of the covered-wagon emblem in 1926, and in September 1948 it was registered as a service-mark. A painting of such a wagon hangs in the vestibule of the company's home office.

What, it might be asked, does the covered wagon signify to the public? To the plaintiff it was said to exemplify the "pioneering spirit" of the company's founders. What does that mean? Is it a star-studded vision of the possibilities that can come with a change in surroundings—surroundings that have, for more or less time, seemed inadequate? Literally, a wagon represented the application of intelligence to the question of locomotion, whereby wheeled vehicles replaced pack animals. For would-be far-westerners, a wagon with a canvas cover represented a conveyance chosen by a man and his family to surmount the hazards of the prairies, preferring such hazards to those of the seas; it meant organization into parties under "captains" who were capable of immediate response to problems; it meant sharing responsibility in the protection of persons and animals along the way. At present it must mean a liberal variety of things, for, as Judge Goodman points out, it is used, with differences in minor details, in advertising travel agencies, banks, home-furnishing emporiums, cigar manufacturers, a gaming club, and bread. The emblem's applicability to bread, what with the modern rapture over freshness, is a little difficult to understand.

Judge Goodman held that the evidence did not establish that the

*See 115 *F. Supp.* 787.

plaintiff's mark had acquired a secondary meaning; in other words, it had not become so well identified with the plaintiff's services that the defendant's use of a similar mark would be deceptive. Therefore the defendant was not chargeable with unfair competition, the ultimate test being whether the consuming public had been deceived. He then analysed the phenomena of trade-marks and service-marks; their position under common law and under the Lanham Trade-mark Act (July 5, 1947); he noted that, prior to passage of the latter, no protection was accorded unless the trade-mark was affixed to marketable goods in order to indicate their origin,** the end result being that the mark became associated with the goods in the mind of the consuming public. Proof that a mark had acquired such a distinctive character was not generally required; it had to be clear, however, that the mark was affixed to the goods with the intention of indicating origin. For example, trade-mark protection was denied in [Rudyard] Kipling *v.* G. P. Putnam's Sons (2 Cir., 1903), "where a single edition of Kipling's works had been stamped with an ornamental device without any notice that it was intended as a trade-mark."

Under the Lanham act, "service-marks," used to identify services rather than goods, were specified as proper for registration and protection. Among those mentioned were slogans, titles, theme songs, character names and distinctive features of radio or other advertising; but the act did not define them fully. Congress was in virgin soil—the national legislators lacked experience in affording protection to such marks at that date (1947); therefore it was thought best to leave, to future determination, the particular kind of marks which should receive statutory protection. In a sense, this left the door open to what has been sometimes called "judicial legislation." As Judge Goodman pointed out, it is fairly obvious that every name, mark, etc., used in advertising, cannot be protected as a service-mark: "... statutory protection must be limited to those marks which are used in such a way that they acquire an association with the service which enables them to perform a true trade-mark function"—that is, of indicating to the public the origin and quality of the service and inducing the public to buy. Since there is no physical connection between a service-mark and a service to guarantee

**An anomaly may occur to some readers at this point: although the general run of covered wagons was of the Conestoga type, originating near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the origin of the occupants who had, so to speak, affixed themselves to the vehicle, was all the way from New England to the Missouri.

at least some association of the mark with the service in the public mind, evidence of such association is necessary to establish that the service-mark is entitled to protection.

In the insurance companies' controversy, there was, in Judge Goodman's opinion, no evidence of such association. The plaintiff's mark did not distinguish its service from the service of others in the public mind. Insurance agents and brokers deal, as the judge pointed out, with the public; the insured are *customers of the brokers*; there is no direct relationship between company and public. There was no evidence that the insurance brokers and agents, acting for their customers, associated the covered-wagon mark with the services sold by the plaintiff. Nor did the policy holder or the broker rely upon the mark as a guarantee of the contents of the policy, or of the plaintiff's ability to abide by the contract, regardless of the halo around the early-day covered-wagon's history. "There is," said Judge Goodman, "not the slightest evidence that any agent or broker has been so attracted by the picturization of the 'covered-wagon' on any of the plaintiff's advertising media that he sought plaintiff's services."

Use of a "colorable" imitation of any registered mark, in connection with sale or advertising of goods or services, is penalized by the Lanham act. Judge Goodman held that no penalty is imposed by the act unless the colorable imitation is used in such a way as to cause confusion or mistake, or to deceive purchasers as to the source or origin of such services. Evidence of confusion was lacking. He cited here the opinion of Justice Hand in *Miles Shoes Inc. v. R. H. Macy & Co.* (2 Cir., 1952) that, actual instances of confusion being absent, "in the final analysis the decision must rest on the court's conviction as to possible confusion." In the present case, the nature and character of the services sold by plaintiff and defendant, and their manner of operation, rendered it completely improbable that the defendant's use of the covered wagon would cause any broker or agent to believe that the two companies were in any way connected. "For any broker," said Judge Goodman, "who would select an insurance carrier because its policies or advertising material carried an imprint of a covered wagon, or a pine tree, or an elephant, would obviously soon be seeking his living in other fields."

Pleasure and pride on the part of the plaintiff in using an ornamental picture of the covered wagon on their policies, stationery, etc., were understandable. "But that is, per se, a far cry to granting judicial aid to stop another insurance company from using similar adornments or orna-

ments." Judgment was for the defendant. Despite the interesting legal problem it presented, the case, in the judge's opinion, was really "Much Ado About Nothing."

By way of addendum: No mention seems to have been made of the fact that on one of the debated service-marks the oxen were headed in an unlabeled direction; on the other, they were traveling toward the opposite point of the compass. Which was giving up the trek and going home — the plaintiff's?

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
	<i>Sustaining</i>	
C. I. Gaba	Napa	Membership Committee
Miss Claire A. Glendenning	Oakland	Arthur E. Corder
	<i>Active</i>	
Mrs. Virginia Best Adams	Yosemite National Park	Francis P. Farquhar
Harold E. Baker	Chula Vista	Membership Committee
Miss M. Gertrude Biggs	San Francisco	R. H. Cross
College of St. Albert the Great Library	Oakland	Membership Committee
Miss Anna C. Conlon	San Francisco	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Drake Navigators' Guild	Pt. Reyes Station	A. S. Oke
Mrs. Grace S. Ewing	Mariposa	Francis P. Farquhar
Clement Fisher, Jr.	Oakland	Brian Thompson
Philip L. Gildred	San Diego	Mrs. Griffing Bancroft
William L. Hahn, D.D.S.	Berkeley	Louis L. Stein, Jr.
Miss Elizabeth Harris	Holtville	Mrs. John Kavanaugh
Mrs. Fritz C. Hyde, Jr.	San Mateo	John R. Metcalf
Mrs. Jay B. Jacobs	Los Angeles	Transfer of the late Mr. Jacobs' membership
Mrs. John Kavanaugh	Holtville	Membership Committee
Frank S. Meyer	Woodstock, N. Y.	Membership Committee
Col. Carroll E. B. Peeke	San Francisco	David Magee
Benjamin C. Reinke, D.D.S.	San Francisco	R. E. Hambrook
Mrs. George W. Rourke, Jr.	San Francisco	George H. Cabaniss and Waddell F. Smith
H. C. Taneyhill	San Francisco	James Abajian
Trinity County Historical Society	Weaverville	R. H. Cross
University of Arizona Library	Tucson	Membership Committee

GIFTS OF RECOGNITION

To honor the following living persons, friends of the Society have made substantial monetary or other gifts:

Tamara Brown	Lewis Madison Terman
Kenneth Michael Mackenzie	Otis Buckminster Wight, M.D.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin

Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black

Edwin T. Blake

Helen Kinsell

William C. Latham

M. Hall McAllister

Ruby McCormick

F. J. Morin

Frank M. Ogden

Mrs. E. O. C. Ord

George A. Pope

Mrs. George A. Pope

Edward T. Sheppard

Mrs. Leslie Symmes

Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber

Edward Washington Bender

Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell

Hope Bliss

Philip Read Bradley

Eldridge Ayer Burbank

John R. Burns

Rumsey Campbell

Randolph Clement

Abraham Lincoln Danziger

Edward B. Field

Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.

Abraham P. Hanks

Thomas Norman Harvey

Virginia Utz Jobe

Arthur C. Kennedy

George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.

La Verne Scott Moss

Whitney Palache

Robert J. Parker

Ann May Perry

Mabel Gray Potter

William C. Sharpsteen

John Joaquin Smith

L. Deming Tilton

Harry C. Warren, M.D.

Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wemore Beard

Katharine Esther Bennitt

George Mackey Cornwall

William M. Gilliland

Eliza Jane Gilman

Olive Martha Gould

Emily West Knowland

Ethel A. Krook

Abbie Hyde Lewis

James L'Hommedieu

Helen Flint Lyman

William O'Hara Martin

Haig Patigian

Barbara Peters

Minna Dohrmann Pischel

Margaret James Porter

Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.

J. D. Sweeney

Dixon Wecter

Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins

Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn

Clarence Leo Best

Eleanor Smith Boone

Frances Des Marais Brogan

Ella M. Brooke

Glada V. Elden

Edward Lilburn Eyre

Estelle Lyon Fay

Lowell E. Hardy

Grant James Hunt

Emma T. Kessler

Eva M. Koch

Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thatcher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
Irving Martin
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
Arthur John Bancroft
Francis Edward Bishop
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Charles Philip Boone
Marie Wilson Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed

LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Katherine Thayer Cate
Bessie Hobart Chapman
Frederick Herman Coon
Florence Osterero Cullen
Lillie E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Alice Eastwood
Maude Wyman Eberts
Paul Eliel
George August Fuhrig
Robert B. Gaylord
Frank Carroll Giffen
Mary Glide Goethe
Irene L. Goudey
Mabel L. Holmes
Frederick B. Kellam
George E. Kennedy
William James Laing
Winifred M. Menzies
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Lynn Townsend White

1954

Rae Griswold Behrens
Isaac Flint Chapman
Helen Richardson Espy
Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
Armand Leon Hering
Caroline Lendelof Johnson
Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
Ruth Comfort Mitchell
William G. Paden
Paul P. Pitchlynn
Ida M. Reed
Thomas M. Robinson, Jr.
William Henry Shine

In Memoriam

SAMUEL POND

Samuel Pond, member of a distinguished San Francisco family, died in that city on March 8, 1954, at the end of eighty-one. His father, Edward B. Pond, came to California in 1850, establishing himself first as a merchant in Chico and subsequently moving to San Francisco where he was a member of the board of supervisors, 1871-73, and mayor, 1887-1891.

As a collegé student (University of California, ex-class of 1894), Samuel Pond joined the Chi Phi fraternity. In June 1902 he was married to Miss Dorothy Ames, daughter of Charles G. Ames, pioneer educator and banker of Santa Rosa.*

For many years Pond was associated with the investment firm of Peirce, Fair & Co., which is no longer in business; and though he, himself, retired some time ago from active participation in financial affairs, he maintained an office, downtown, at 58 Sutter Street.

To his friends at the Pacific-Union Club, of which he had been a director and for two years president, Pond was a congenial and highly agreeable companion who will be greatly missed. The same can be said of him by those among us who shared his enthusiasm for sport. He had been a valued member of the California Historical Society since August 1941.

Surviving Mr. Pond are his wife, and two children: Barbara (Mrs. Alexander Donald) of Woodside; and Samuel Ames Pond of New York.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

*C. A. Menefee, in his *Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino* (Napa City, 1873), pages 318, 322, 324, says that the "thorough systematization of the schools and their efficient management" were in great measure due to Mr. Ames' efforts while county superintendent of public instruction for six years, beginning with his election in 1865. By the time Menefee's book was written, Mr. Ames had been make cashier of the Santa Rosa Bank.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

January 31, 1954

As has been customary for several years past, the books of the Society have been audited by Messrs. Farquhar and Heimbucher. Their full report for 1953 is on file at the headquarters of the Society, a summary being given below.

BALANCE SHEET
As at December 31, 1953

<i>Assets</i>		
Cash—Commercial account	\$ 1,785.26	
Savings account	5,722.40	
Office revolving fund	<u>20.00</u>	\$ 7,527.66
U. S. Savings bonds, G		1,200.00
Accounts receivable—		
General fund	17.62	
Publication fund	<u>53.31</u>	70.93
Inventory of publications		3,916.65
Prepaid insurance		212.48
Total assets*		<u>\$12,927.72</u>

*Library collections and furniture and fixtures are not valued on the books.

<i>Liabilities</i>		
Accounts payable—general fund	—	
publication fund	—	
Sales tax payable—state	\$ 36.35	
city	<u>.54</u>	36.89
Dues collected in advance		910.00
		<u>\$ 946.89</u>

<i>Funds</i>		
General fund	\$ 1,102.80	
Publication fund	6,601.11	
Library fund	3,076.92	
Cavalier Memorial fund		11,980.83
Total liabilities and funds		<u>\$12,927.72</u>

GENERAL FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1953

INCOME

Dues—Active members	\$13,517.50	
Sustaining members	5,215.00	
Patron members	3,900.00	
Entrance fees	<u>405.00</u>	\$23,037.50
Contributions—General	\$ 1,919.50	
Special purposes	<u>245.05</u>	2,164.55
Sales of QUARTERLY		366.25
Sales of prints		601.44
Miscellaneous sales		162.42
Interest on savings account		90.92
Miscellaneous revenue		39.37
Total income		<u>\$26,462.45</u>

EXPENSES

Operating expenses—	
Salaries	\$13,258.65
Rent	2,575.00

Telephone	119.06	
Office supplies	325.85	
Postage and express	156.07	
Furniture and equipment	—	
Insurance	343.42	
Library expenses	312.78	
Bad debts	—	
Miscellaneous	542.75	\$17,633.58
Membership and publicity		70.80
Exhibit expenses		14.36
Luncheon expenses		412.15
QUARTERLY publication costs		7,187.50
Notes publication costs		962.34
Cost of print sales		469.50
Total expenses		\$26,750.23
Net income (loss)		\$ (287.78)
Fund balance at beginning of year		1,390.58
Fund balance at end of year		\$ 1,102.80

PUBLICATION FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1953

Sales of publications		\$ 1,284.91
Less Cost of sales—		
Beginning inventory	\$ 2,784.50	
Purchases	2,126.48	
	\$ 4,910.98	
Less Ending inventory	3,916.65	
		994.33
Gross profit from sales		\$ 290.58
Less Selling expense		230.25
Net profit from sales		\$ 60.33
Interest on savings account		29.15
Net gain to fund		\$ 89.48
Fund balance at beginning of year		6,511.63
Fund balance at end of year		\$ 6,601.11

LIBRARY FUND INCOME STATEMENT

For the Year ended December 31, 1953

Income

Sales of duplicate books	\$ 2,500.00	
Contributions	676.65	
Interest on savings account	35.66	
Total income		\$ 3,212.31
Less Expenses—		
Purchases		1,448.52
Net increase in fund		\$ 1,763.79
Fund balance at beginning of year		1,313.13
Fund balance at end of year		\$ 3,076.92

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 1 to June 1, 1954

Materials of great interest have been contributed by many friends in many places:

ALAMEDA

Mrs. C. W. Brown

ARLINGTON, VIRGINIA

W. R. Cameron

ATHERTON

Mrs. Ernest H. Sultan

BERKELEY

Mrs. Arthur John Bancroft

Ralph H. Cross, Sr.

Mrs. True Durbrow

Mrs. Harry Gabbert

David A. Kasmire

Mrs. Oliver Stuart Loud

Hobart M. Lovett

Mrs. Warren Olney, Jr.

Mrs. Rogers Parratt

C. Scott Emlen

Miss Mabel Symmes

Mrs. J. J. Van Nostrand

BLUE LAKE

Dr. and Mrs. Eugene Fountain

CHULA VISTA

Mrs. O. F. Weissgerber

DORCHESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

Herbert L. Kelley

DOWNIEVILLE

Hon. Raymond McIntosh

FAIRFIELD

Mrs. Irma B. Nider

FRESNO

Ezekiel Missakian

GRASS VALLEY

Mrs. Edna D. Sampson

HAYWARD

E. L. Nonnenmann

LEBANON, OREGON

W. A. Moxley

LODI

Mrs. Thomas J. Carey

LOS ANGELES

Henry H. Clifford

LOS GATOS

L. E. Ghetti

MANCHESTER, CONNECTICUT

Mrs. Sherwood A. Cheney

MENLO PARK

Mrs. Charles K. Harley

Carl I. Wheat

NEVADA CITY

Hon. James Snell

OAKLAND

J. M. Milliken

James Pland

Hon. A. T. Shine

Ben F. Woolner

ORINDA

Mrs. H. B. McFarland

OROVILLE

Miss Florence D. Boyle

PALO ALTO

Mrs. Walter J. Burpee

Mrs. Everett M. Calderwood

George L. Harding

PARIS, FRANCE

Raymond Duncan

REDWOOD CITY

C. A. Wilhelmson

RIVERSIDE

Mrs. Frank A. Miller

ROSS

Mrs. William Haney

SACRAMENTO

J. N. Bowman

Friend & Terry Lumber Company

C. M. Goethe

Mrs. Helen Holdredge

Robert Nadey

SAN BERNARDINO

L. Burr Belden

San Bernardino County

Historical Society

SAN DIEGO

Don N. Driese

The Tolle Company

SAN FRANCISCO

Miss Margaret Adams

- American Trust Company
 Miss Shirley Baer
 Mrs. Mildred Baird
 Donald C. Biggs
 Mrs. Angus G. Boggs
 Thomas P. Brown
 Mrs. Henry Buckley
 George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
 Miss Mary MacRae Corbus
 R. H. Creel, M.D.
 Sidney M. Ehrman
 E. A. Freeman
 Tom Gallagher
 John O. Gantner
 Miss Winifred R. Gay
 William H. Gorrill
 Mr. and Mrs. John W. Gunter
 Miss A. Josephine Hewitt
 Edgar M. Kahn
 Miss Florence R. Keene
 Lawton R. Kennedy
 Curtis Knowles
 Mrs. Frederick W. Kroll
 Roger D. Lapham
 Edward Leese
 Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
 Mrs. Emilio Lorenzini
 Miss Lucile S. McCracken
 Hon. Robert McWilliams
 David Magee Book Store
 Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop Martin
 Mrs. C. O. G. Miller
 Mrs. Evelyn Craig Pattiani
 C. E. Peterson
 Mrs. R. H. Pringle
 David W. Ryder
 San Francisco Jewish
 Community Center
 Mrs. Robert Searls
 Miss Myra Shannon
 Miss Blanche A. Son
 Miss Ruth Teiser
 Miss Emily C. Timlow
 Mrs. George O. Wilson
 Mrs. Samuel A. Wood
 F. W. Woolworth Company
 S. Gregory Yasinitsky
 SAN LEANDRO
 Mrs. E. P. Schlichtmann
 SAN MARINO
 Henry R. Wagner
 SANTA ANA
 Harry L. Hansen
 SANTA BARBARA
 Mrs. W. F. Kelly
 Santa Barbara News-Press
 Stanley T. Tomlinson
 SONORA
 Mrs. Ruth A. Newport
 WILLOWS
 Mrs. Nicholas W. Hanson

Reviews of luncheon-meeting addresses, including Mr. Homer D. Crotty's on the occasion of the Mariposa Centennial, are scheduled to appear in the September issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

- ADAMS, RAMON F. *Six-Guns & Saddle Leather; a Bibliography of Books and Pamphlets on Western Outlaws and Gunmen.* Norman, Univ. of Oklahoma [c1954] 416 p. Illus. \$12.50.
- BERTON, FRANCIS. *Un Voyage sur le Colorado.* Translated and edited by Charles N. Rudkin. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1954. 103 p. Illus. \$7.50.
- BLUMENTHAL, LOUIS H. *Three Generations of Service to the Community, 1877-1954; the Story of the San Francisco Jewish Community Center and the YM-YWHA.* San Francisco, The Center, 1954. 44 p. Illus., ports. [Apply to publisher]
- CALIFORNIA. DEPARTMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES. DIVISION OF MINES. *De Argento Vivo; Historic Documents on Quicksilver and Its Recovery in California Prior to 1860.* Assembled by Elisabeth L. Egenhoff . . . [Sacramento, State Printing Office, 1953] 144 p. Illus., map. \$1.00.
- ELY, EDWARD. *The Wanderings of Edward Ely; a Mid-19th Century Seafarer's Diary.* Edited by Anthony and Allison Sirna. N. Y., Hastings House [c1954] 217 p. \$3.75.
- FIELD, MARIA ANTONIA. *Where Castillian Roses Bloom; Memoirs of Maria Antonia Field.* [San Francisco, Author] 1954. 142 p. Illus., ports. \$15.00. [Privately printed]
- GLASSLEY, RAY HOARD. *Pacific Northwest Indian Wars; the Cayuse War of 1848; the Rogue River War of the '50s; the Yakima War, 1853-56; the Coeur d'Alene War, 1857; the Modoc War, 1873; the Nez Percés War, 1877; the Bannock War, 1878; the Sheepeater's War of 1879.* Portland, Binfords, 1953. 266 p. Illus. \$3.75.
- JAMES, MARQUIS and BESSIE ROWLAND JAMES. *Biography of a Bank; the Story of Bank of America, N. T. & S. A. N. Y., Harper* [c1954] vii, 566 p. Illus., ports. \$5.00.
- LEWIS, OSCAR. *George Davidson; Pioneer West Coast Scientist.* Berkeley, Univ. of California, 1954. viii, 146 p. Illus., maps, ports. \$3.50.
- MCDONALD, EMANUEL B. *Sam McDonald's Farm; Stanford Reminiscences . . .* Stanford, Stanford Univ., 1954. ix, 422 p. Illus., ports. \$7.50.
- MARBERRY, M. M. *Splendid Poseur; Joaquin Miller—American Poet.* N. Y., Crowell [c1953] ix, 310 p. Port. \$3.75.
- MAYNARD, THEODORE. *The Long Road of Father Serra.* N. Y., Appleton-Century-Crofts [1954] 297 p. Illus. \$3.50.
- PATTIANI, EVELYN CRAIG. *Queen of the Hills; the Story of Piedmont, a California City.* Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1953. 179 p. Illus., map, ports. \$5.00.
- QUEEN, WILLIAM M. *Sanctuary Lights on the Monterey Peninsula.* Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1954. 55 p. Illus., port. \$1.00.
- ROXBURGHE CLUB OF SAN FRANCISCO. *Chronology of Twenty-Five Years; the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, 1928-1953.* [San Francisco, The Club, 1954. 42 l. Plates. Privately printed]
- SMITH, GERALD ARTHUR. *A History of the County School Administration of San Bernardino County, California.* [San Bernardino] San Bernardino County Historical Society, 1954. 438 p. Illus., ports. [Apply to publisher]
- WAGNER, HENRY RAUP. *The First American Vessel in California; Monterey in 1796.* Los Angeles, Dawson, 1954. 33 p. Illus., port. \$5.00.
- WURM, THEODORE G., and ALVIN C. GRAVES. *The Crookedest Railroad in the World; a History of the Mt. Tamalpais and Muir Woods Railroad of California.* Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1954. 121 p. Illus., port. \$3.00.

ZAMORANO, AGUSTIN V. A Facsimile Edition of California's First Book, *Reglamento Provisional*. Printed at Monterey in 1834 by Agustin V. Zamorano. Translation by Ramon Ruiz & Theresa Vigil; a Note on the Printing [by] George L. Harding; an Historical Note [by] George P. Hammond. San Francisco, Book Club of California, 1954. vii, 16 p. [Facsimile edition in back cover pocket] \$5.75 to Club members.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

Miriam Allen deFord (Mrs. Maynard Shipley), a Philadelphian by birth, was educated at Wellesley, at Temple University, and at the University of Pennsylvania. Since 1915 she has lived in California, the last dozen of those years as a resident of the San Francisco Bay area. Among Mrs. Shipley's books are: *Who Was When? A Dictionary of Contemporaries* (1940, rev. 1949); *They Were San Franciscans* (1941, rev. 1947); and a novel, *Shaken with the Wind* (1942).

For references to Dr. Nasatir's previous contributions to the QUARTERLY, together with a biographical note, see pages 139, 146, and 189 of volume 31 (June 1952), when his series, "A French Pessimist in California; the Correspondence of J. Lombard, Vice-Consul of France, 1850-52," began.

Viola Lockhart Warren (b. Cedar Rapids, Neb.; A.B., Univ. Calif., 1918), is the wife of Dr. Stafford L. Warren, dean of the School of Medicine, University of California, Los Angeles. In 1948, Mrs. Warren's "Living with the Atom" appeared in the *Pacific Spectator*. An example of her research in medical history is "Foreign Doctors in the Pueblo of Los Angeles," published 1952 in the *Quarterly*, Historical Society of Southern California. Mrs. Warren holds an appointment as lecturer in medical history at U.C.L.A.

A biographical account of William W. Winn may be found in the March 1949 QUARTERLY, pages 93-94.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS (continued):

Mrs. H. Newell (Genevieve Arcularius) Clement is the granddaughter of William Arcularius, who came to California from Pennsylvania with his wife in the early 1870's and took up land in Inyo County at the foot of the Sierra Nevada. The returns from his property proving in-

adequate to the needs of his family, he purchased "under much hardship," as his granddaughter says, a team of mules. His first teaming was done in Cerro Gordo, hauling ore. Then he went to Bodie (where his son, Frank, Mrs. Clement's father, was born), and hauled ore to Placerville, returning to Bodie with needed supplies. His next move was made in 1882, when he became foreman on Panama Ranch, one of the Miller & Lux holdings in the San Joaquin Valley. But he and his wife missed the excitements of teaming in the vicinity of mining towns, so he took his family to Calico and began hauling borax. "From that time on," says Mrs. Clement, "his team was known as the Twenty-Mule Borax Team, my grandfather being given the nickname of 'Old Borax Bill.'" Borax and the places it frequents had rivals in the affections of Mr. Arcularius, and when a gold strike would occur in Nevada, he and his animals would be close on its heels. At the age of fifteen, William Arcularius' son Frank started raising sheep. Difficulties did not deter him any more than they did his father; consequently, in the process of adjusting himself to them, he acquired not only sound experience but also large acreages in both California and Nevada, on which he ran livestock including sheep. When Frank Arcularius was faced by the giant-sized difficulty of defending his water rights, at the time Los Angeles was reaching into the trans-Sierra counties for her water, his training and stamina gave him confidence and several victories in the legal battles that ensued. Now, a granddaughter and daughter of Inyo and Mono pioneers, Mrs. Clement numbers among her friends the early settlers and their descendants, for whom she has great admiration. Educated at Bishop and at the University of California (class of 1934), and married to a San Franciscan, H. Newell Clement, Mrs. Clement with her husband has operated for some two decades a guest-type ranch, located on one of her father's cattle and sheep ranches at the headwaters of the Owens River, with fishing as the main interest.

E. L. de Golyer (A.B., Univ. Oklahoma, 1911), noted geologist and oil producer, is a native of Greensburg, Kansas. Trees, as has been pointed out, live "intimately" with rain. Mr. de Golyer may be said to have lived (locale inverted) intimately with petroleum; in fact, to read the biographical account of the Society's new member in *Who's Who* gives one an idea of the initiative — and wisdom — with which the country's natural resources endow those who know them best. Successful as an oil producer, Mr. de Golyer's experience is being called into play in

connection with the public's use of its own resources. To cite only one example, since 1947 he has been a member of the advisory committee on raw materials, U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. In his home at Dallas, Texas, Mr. de Golyer has one of the most complete libraries in the United States on west and southwest America; and visits to this coast, to attend meetings of the Southern Pacific Co. (he was elected a director in 1947), never fail to include book and manuscript dealers as part of his itinerary. Mr. de Golyer has been chairman of the editorial board of the *Saturday Review of Literature* since 1947.

Mrs. John [Esther Jewell] Kavanaugh (b. 1879, at Salubria, Idaho) is the daughter of Edward S. Jewell, member of the area's first territorial convention and twice a member of the Idaho senate, and Mary Markham Jewell. Mrs. Kavanaugh began teaching early in life, first in Idaho, then, after 1903, in Arizona where she was married and made her home. In 1910 the Kavanaughs came to Holtville, California. Here she continued her interest in education as school-board member and as teacher until 1950, with such extracurricular interests as the Y.W.C.A., Girl Reserves, and church work — not to mention gardening, and painting in oils, with the desert and mountains as subjects. Mrs. Kavanaugh is historian of the Imperial Valley Pioneers, an incorporated society with headquarters at Imperial, California.

Col. C. E. B. Peeke (b. Seattle, 1898) is the grandson of Émile Beauchamp Wishar, who, settling in San Jose shortly after the Civil War, became associated with the *San Jose Mercury*. To the colonel's own journalistic credit are ten years (1922-32) on the editorial staff of the *San Francisco Call-Bulletin* and another decade (1932-41) as city editor of the Washington, D. C., *Times-Herald*. After this came service in the U. S. army, which took him to South America on military missions and to Italy with the Fifth Army, his work winning decorations. Since leaving the army, Colonel Peeke has been director of public information for the U. S. Veterans Administration on this coast. His free time is given to research on the life of the Rt. Rev. William Ingraham Kip, first Episcopal bishop of California, whose great-granddaughter is the colonel's wife.

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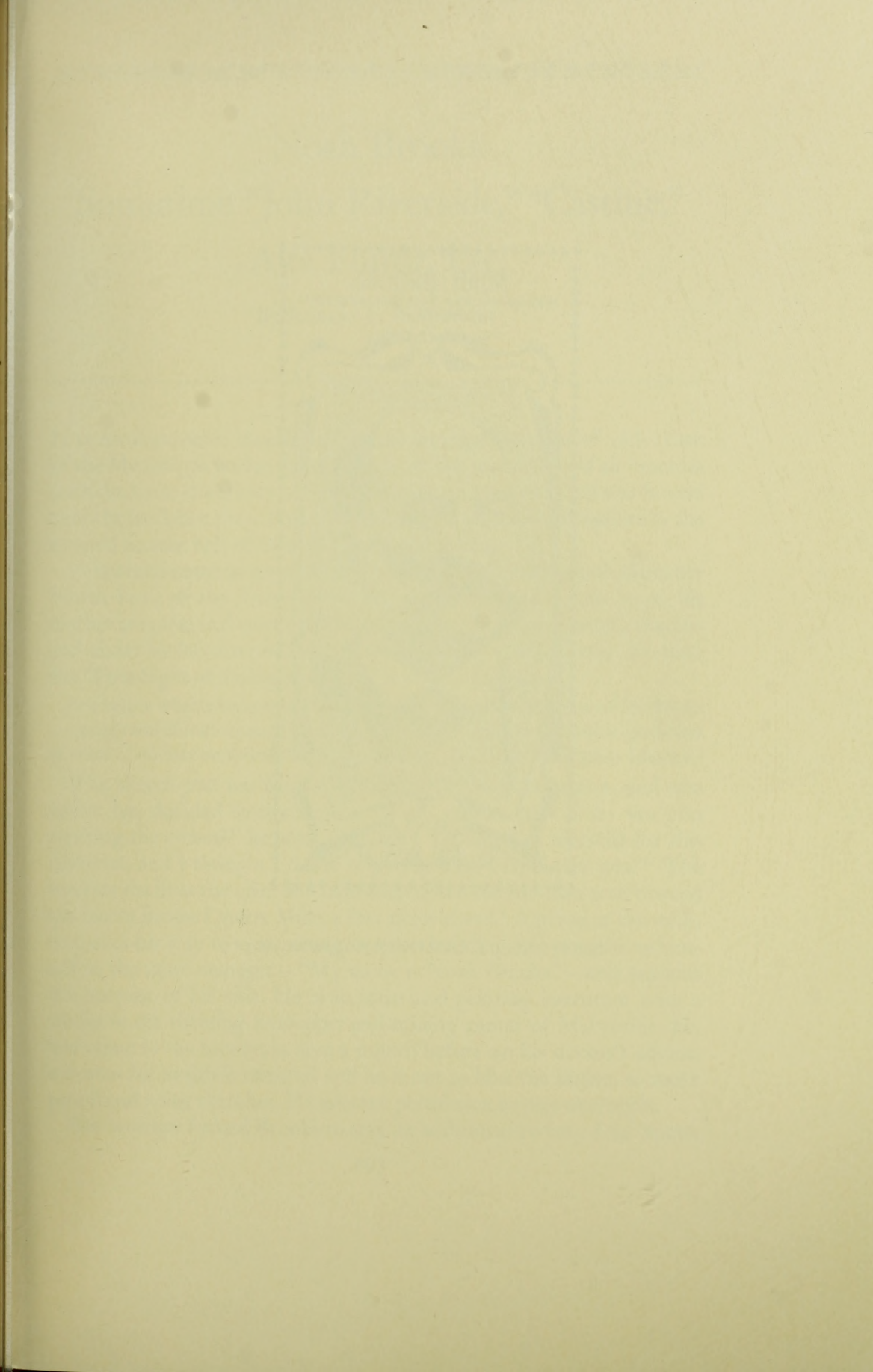
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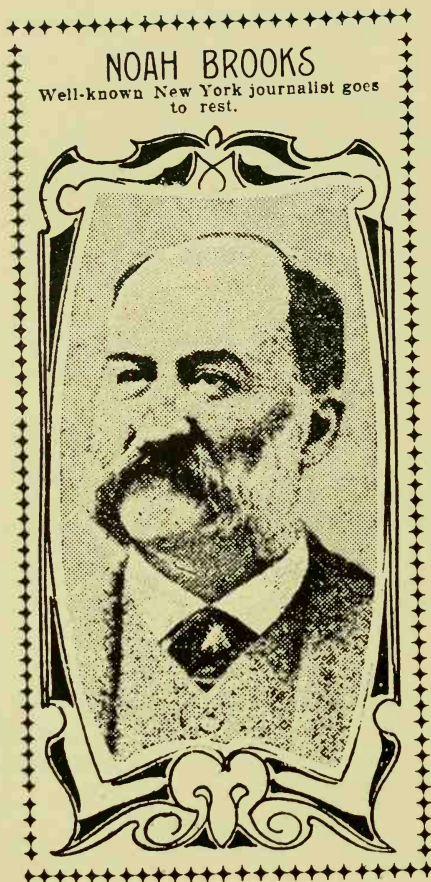
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San Francisco EXAMINER August 18, 1903

Noah Brooks:
Sometime "John Riverside," "Castine,"
Alta Editor, Etc.

By ROBERT E. BLACKMON

IT IS AUGUST, three months before the national elections of 1860. East of the Mississippi, and in many parts west, the warm, humid air crackles with the static electricity of fear, suspicion, and hatred. Civil war hovers over the land, but there is none of this doom-laden atmosphere in the isolated eastern half of Sierra County, California.

A bearded man moves at an easy pace along the trail which skirts the North Fork of the Yuba River. He has a rucksack on his back; his clothes are plain and comfortable, and, except for a large, artist's sketch-pad under his left arm, he looks like an ordinary foot-traveler. To him, the "First Sight of the Sierra Buttes" is worth recording:

Just below what is known as "Charcoal Flat," one gets a fine view of the Buttes . . . purple and cloudy upon the horizon — the eye being led in agreeable gradation of color . . . to the castellated shapes . . . which frown in the amethystine distance.¹

The sketch-pad has excited some curiosity in the region, and one native has decided to investigate: "I say mister, how is it—are you a-taking the census?" he asks. "No, sir." "'Cause I'm marshall for this deestrect, and I thought I'd like to g'long with yer, if you was."² The traveler declines the offer and continues down the red-dust trail toward the Sierra Buttes Quartz Mills, a few miles ahead.³ Arrived at the mills, he makes his way to a two-story wooden building. He introduces himself to the mine manager—"My name is Noah Brooks"—and explains the purpose of his visit. He is an artist and painting instructor with a studio in the thriving river-port and mining center of Marysville. He had come to the mountain area a month before on his doctor's advice, but now his health is restored and he is out to hike the buttes, to make pencil and color sketches. He asks for permission to stay overnight.

Bad weather forced Brooks to stay an additional twenty-four hours;

then he was off, unguided, for the buttes. The work of his pencil and brush has been lost, but his impressions of the region are to be found in a file of news-letters written under the pseudonym of "John Riverside" for a short-lived San Francisco paper, the *Daily Evening Mirror*.⁴ In his lifetime Brooks acquired a national reputation as a newspaperman and writer of juvenile fiction, biography, and history, and his observations on Abraham Lincoln are still highly-regarded bits of Lincoln lore. When it comes to his "Riverside" writings, they seem to have fallen into limbo.

Brooks was born in the old seaport village of Castine, Maine, on October 24, 1830.⁵ His parents were members of prominent New England families,⁶ but he kept himself and his affairs so completely in the background, that, to obtain even a bare outline of his life, one must piece together a great amount of scattered material. As yet no one has essayed a biography of Brooks.⁷ The seven biographical sketches and newspaper obituaries must be closely watched for errors.⁸ J. G. Randall, Carl Sandburg, and Milton H. Shutes have devoted some attention to Brooks in their biographies of Lincoln, but their characterizations are necessarily brief.⁹ We know a great deal about him as an intimate friend of Lincoln, but virtually nothing about his venture to strife-torn Kansas in 1857. We have a good picture of his boyhood because much of his juvenile fiction is about Castine.¹⁰ We know that the boys were amphibious; and that a boy, who, "at the mature age of twelve, could not row cross-handed, bait a codline, or steer a boat, was not of much account."¹¹ We even know a little about Castine's reading habits, including the curious fact that Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was banned in many households because it was considered a wicked book.¹²

When he was eighteen years old, Brooks went to Boston to study painting. After a year or two, his interest in his studies flagged and he took a job with the Boston *Atlas*, then the hub city's most influential Whig newspaper. We know little more about his Boston life except that he had articles printed in the *Carpet Bag*, a weekly literary journal published from 1851 to 1853.¹³

In 1854, Brooks moved to Dixon, Illinois, 100 miles west of Chicago.¹⁴ There he went into the cabinet-ware business with a young friend, John G. Brooks.¹⁵ On May 29, 1856, Noah returned to Massachusetts to marry Caroline A. Fellows. She may have been a childhood sweetheart.¹⁶

During this Dixon period of Brooks's life the misunderstanding be-

tween the slaveholding South and the free North became acute. The national Whig party had foundered and been replaced by a lusty, sectional organization which in time became known as the Republican party. Brooks took a keen interest in current events, and became a worker for the Republicans. He was also a contributor to the *Dixon Telegraph* and was occasionally sent on news assignments. On one of these he first saw Abraham Lincoln. It was during the 1856 contest for the presidency, and Lincoln was campaigning for the Republican nominee, John C. Frémont. Brooks's first impression was unfavorable. He and a young friend "made a little fun of his [Lincoln's] excessively homely appearance."¹⁷ Lincoln was dressed in a badly-tailored linen suit, "intended for a man at least five inches less in stature."¹⁸ Before Lincoln finished speaking, Brooks's attitude had swung about until he believed that "every hearer could not fail to be impressed with the fact that the great principles of right and justice had sank deep into the mind of the speaker."¹⁹

Lincoln made over fifty speeches for Frémont in 1856, and yet one of the former's biographers (Randall) feels that this period is one of the least-known of Lincoln's life. We can thank Brooks, however, for leaving us a good account of Lincoln on the stump.²⁰ The setting was a rural political rally in Oregon, Ogle County, Illinois. Country people came on horseback, farm wagon, and on foot, to hear the forensic fireworks. Brooks was there for the *Telegraph*. Lincoln was the first of a number of speakers and, although his close reasoning and restrained delivery was not the style his rural audience usually preferred, Brooks felt that the speech was effective. Later he met Lincoln and the two rested in the shade and conversed for an hour on the political prospects of their young party. Brooks was completely won over by the older man. Twenty-two years later the memory was still vivid: "And if it had not been for Lincoln's earnestness, and the almost affectionate desire that he manifested to have me, a young newspaper writer, understand the political situation, I should not have remembered them for a day."²¹

The Republicans failed in 1856, just as Lincoln had predicted "off the record" to Brooks. Because Dixon may have seemed too dull after the campaign, or because of economic reasons, or both, Brooks and a small party of men tried farming in Kansas in 1857. They homesteaded a few miles west of Ft. Riley, then on the fringe of the white man's civilization. The attempt was a failure and before the year had ended Brooks was back in Illinois, where in the following year he saw Lincoln and Douglas debate for a seat in the U. S. senate.

Late in 1858, rumors of a rich Colorado gold-strike reached the east and midwest, and early the next year Brooks and four other men from Dixon, including his close friend John G. Brooks, joined the parade of an estimated 100,000 "fifty-niners."²² Although Dixon was suffering an economic slump, the small party managed to raise \$500 for equipage — with the result that, when Brooks finally arrived in California, he was without money, and, as he says, had "scarcely a rag to my back."²³

At Council Bluffs Brooks's party had seen a California enthusiast, who persuaded them to head clear through to the west coast. They crossed the Missouri by rope ferry near the end of May 1859 and clambered up a steep bank to the site of modern Omaha. Brooks stopped to talk to the operator of the ferry who was exacting \$1.50 for each team. "I asked the proprietor of the ferry if he had had any touch of the California fever." The operator waved to his prosperous ferry and smithy, and said: "Wal, I allow this yere is Californy enough for me."²⁴ The trip was arduous but uneventful except on June thirtieth when Brooks's friend, John, drowned near Ft. Laramie. How much of a blow this was to Noah can be seen from a letter written ten months later, in which he says he still could not think of John G. Brooks "with any degree of calmness."²⁵

Brooks and his party were spared the terror of an Indian attack,²⁶ but in Idaho they passed a reminder of the danger which hung over each migrating group: a blood-spattered wagon which a few hours before had become a death-trap for five white men. Brooks always maintained a more tolerant attitude towards the Indian than many of his contemporaries, so it is not surprising that he laid the blame for the Idaho massacre on the "white men . . . agressors . . . the redmen were goaded to the attack."²⁷ Stops for refitting ("lay-bys") were made at Ft. Bridger and Salt Lake City. Brooks termed the crossing of the Humboldt desert region "dreadful," but this and their last great barrier to California, the Sierra Nevada, were eventually passed. On October 4, 1859, the men reached their goal, Marysville.

Brooks enjoyed a reputation as a prolific letter writer, but few of these can be found now. Fortunately three of those on file in libraries were written from Marysville — on Feb. 22, April 3, and June 5, 1860.²⁸ He seems to have had difficulty making ends meet during his first winter in California because his February letter includes a request to a Dixon friend to lend some money to his wife, Caroline. "My expenses are considerable," wrote Brooks, "and as work is dull I have as much as I can do

to meet them." He was sanguine that his fortunes would improve in the spring. Three months of California winter weather had filled him with wonder: "We have no snow of course . . ."; "I have seen flowers in bloom every month since I have been here." By the time of his April letter Brooks's finances were in better shape. With the letter he dispatched \$80 for his wife. He had returned to painting and was making a good living. His local reputation was that of an artist "of no mean accomplishment."²⁹ Brooks had heard that a new wave of settlers from Illinois was readying for the trip to the Pacific coast, and he passed on this cautious word of advice:

I hope they do not come out with any very exalted ideas of making a "pile" here. I ought, again and again, to state that such things are no longer feasible here. But it ought to be known that here a man who is honest and industrious cannot fail to do well. And I was never in a country where a small amount of money can make money as soon as here.

The weather is a favorite opening for California letter-writers — even of a new arrival like Brooks:

A man can leave his harvest field where he has been sweltering in the sun and by tomorrow afternoon be in the midst of snows and ice, and of course he can here find all the gradations from hot to cold. The season, however, has been very backward here, and cold winds have prevailed for the past few weeks, although about a month ago the weather was very hot.³⁰

Reared in a seaport village, Brooks loved the sea. It is understandable then that his June letter includes an enthusiastic description of a visit to San Francisco and his first sight of the Pacific. He also described the "beautiful" and "broad" San Francisco Bay and some of the towns nearby. Pronounce Vallejo, "Vallayo," he admonished his midwestern friend. San Francisco's air of vigor and achievement impressed him, as did, in a different way, the number of its cigar stores:

But about every other store seems to be a cigar and tobacco store. I never saw anything like it: every one seems to smoke, and these stores are of the most expensive kind and occupy the most eligible sites in the city; next to these are the liquor saloons, gaily decorated and attractive, and next in number and importance are the hotels.

"JOHN RIVERSIDE" AND THE *DAILY EVENING MIRROR*

We do not know the nature of the illness that sent Brooks to the mountains in the summer of 1860, but it may have been the first sign of the lung trouble which struck him later. He decided to spend the recuperative period in painting and writing. To this end, he made an

agreement to write a series of descriptive news-letters for the *Daily Evening Mirror*, a newspaper which survived for only two years in the competitive environment of San Francisco, in spite of the encouragement of its well-wishers, as transcribed in the August 16, 1860, issue. Included was a message from the *Sierra Citizen* of Downieville; another was from the *Los Angeles Star*, which hoped the *Mirror* would "be able to keep afloat, and make a good return for the investment of labor and talent, so unsparingly devoted to the enterprise." Historians of early California journalism³¹ have virtually forgotten the *Mirror*, the only mention of it, found so far in books and theses devoted to the general subject, being the statement of a pioneer printer that the paper was a "consumptive sheet of some note in its brief day."³² Files of the *Mirror* are incomplete; and, although Brooks wrote more, I have only seen five of his "John Riverside" letters. They are made up of essay-like descriptions of the beauty of the Sierra Buttes, blended with urbane, witty comments about the people who lived in the vicinity of Downieville and Marysville. Included here are the letters that were published in the issues of September 6, 10, 11, 14, and 19, 1860. The *Mirror's* editor seems to have believed that he had a nugget in his mining-area correspondent:

The readers of the MIRROR have not failed to remark and admire the intelligent, instructive and amusing articles from our correspondent, "JOHN RIVERSIDE." They are notably distinguished from the sleepy trash which is thrust upon unwilling readers by certain close contemporaries. "RIVERSIDE" is a man of observation, mind and genius, and his articles take hold on public attention.³³

The first available "Riverside" letter was dated September 3, 1860, from Downieville. Earlier "Riverside" letters must have been written because he begins: "My last letter left me just entering this busy little place." He followed this introduction with a description of the rich mineral and agricultural resources of the Downieville area. The hills surrounding the town were covered by "Italian looking plantations," wrote Brooks. Most of the original miners had moved on to the Comstock, and the query, "What's the news from Washoe?" was the commonest exchange of greeting to be heard on the streets. Chinese worked the local placers, which were believed to be exhausted:

Mining, in the immediate vicinity of this place, at least, is chiefly in the hands of the Chinese, who work over the river-bed, yet once more, after successive operators, who have made their fortunes and *retired*, in more senses than one. All up and down these branches the creaking of the flutter-mills and the smoke of the flumes of these patient yellow farmers may be heard day and night.

Downieville has more than her share of these Chinese scavengers, the upper part of the town being quite given up to them, and at night the shrieking of their shrill violin, the thump of the tom-tom, the rattle of the "hew-gag," are heard arising from the discordant quacking . . . of this Mongolian faubourg.

The first settlers of Downieville may have been men of accomplishment, but spelling, as Brooks implies, was not one of their strong points:

Downieville, with due regard to the sanitary effects, has elevated its burial-places on two steep declivities, which it is a Sisyphus labor to scale, and from whence the few forlorn *wooden* head-stones gleam ghastly in the pale moonlight. There is something very sad to me in the contemplation of these neglected graves, where sleep youth and age, far away from those who, even now, mourn their far-off and, perhaps, violent death. But if anything would make me sleep unquietly, it would be the shocking orthography which disgraces some of these un-lettered monuments. But, unless the people are buried elsewhere than in the two cemeteries which I saw, Downieville must be a healthy place, for the number interred here is very small.

There were numerous saloons — "traps" Brooks called them — in the mountains, but kindly nature stood by with the remedy if man over-indulged:

All along the road are those wooden traps baited with whiskey, which crafty men will set wherever three fellows pass. But, as if to place the antidote to the temptation close at hand, Nature has made a thousand rills to gurggle down the hillsides; and on this trail, one cannot go far before a laughing, crystal brooklet comes leaping with cooling melody, down the rocky way, and moistening the red dust of the trail.

It rained hard the day after Brooks appeared at the Sierra Buttes Quartz Mills and he wondered what to do with himself:

What would I do, all this rainy day, with no companionship, save the rough miners, with whom I had so little acquaintance? Books there were: the inevitable "Patent Office Reports" and "Louisa, the Lonely Orphan" — to the latter of which I desperately betook myself, though my eyes often wandered from the turgid page to watch the wreaths of mist rolling down over the rugged face of the Buttes . . .³⁴

Later the rain "held-up" a little and Brooks ventured to climb a nearby peak, but, before he was half-way up, the rain began to strike "pitilessly" again. At the top he found a huge sugar pine with a burned-out trunk, "a roomy retreat." From where he sat, Brooks could see far into California and Nevada. He passed the time in reverie and in the composition of six stanzas of rhyme which were printed in the *Mirror*. Then:

The rain ceased, the triangle rang out the hour of dinner in the ravine below,

and so incontinently quitting my retreat, I descended to sublunary things. In the afternoon I made another exploration, and fortunately happened upon a cabin which appeared to be temporarily vacant. Here were books: Sears' Pictorial Abominations, Moore's Melodies, Fox's Book of Martyrs, and Abbott's Life of Napoleon, in which latter fascinating romance I forgot the inclemency of the remainder of the day.

The next day Brooks took another walk. The view he got from one of the summits made him forget the exertion of the climb. He could see Mt. Shasta, Lawson's Peak, the Sierra and Washoe valleys, and Beckworth Pass. "Westward, the haze hides the Sacramento Valley," he wrote, "but, dimly defined above the smoky strata, I can see the familiar outline of my favorite Marysville Buttes, like islands in a distant sea, nearly seventy-five miles away."³⁵

Brooks found, rudely carved, the names of various other persons who had climbed the peak, the oldest entry being dated 1852. An inscription in a bottle: "Lizzie Atchison, July 13, 1859—follow me who dare!," and the answer: "J. Strickland: Miss Lizzie, you are a brick, and I would follow you to the top of the Andes for one of your sweet smiles,"³⁶ annoyed the reverent scenery-worshipper. "How strange it is," wrote Brooks, "that some natures will obtrude their small-beer nonsense in the most sacred places, never awed by Nature and never subdued by her more awful manifestations."³⁷ This coupling of a young lady's name with a derogatory remark earned Brooks a rebuke. In an open letter published in the *Mirror* on September seventeenth, the editor of the Nevada *Transcript* described Lizzie Atchison as a "brave girl and fit to be the wife of a hero, and that there is nothing of 'small-beer' in her nature." Whereupon Brooks apologized publicly in the *Mirror* on September twenty-first. The "small beer nonsense" was directed only at J. Strickland, Brooks claimed:

No, sir knight of the rueful Transcript, you may put your lance in rest, and pick up your inky gauntlet, for never shall word of scorn or censure against the darling damsel, who left her card in the Sierra Buttes' champagne bottle, flow from the gentle pen of

JOHN RIVERSIDE

Early on another August morning, Brooks set out from the mill by an unfamiliar trail for Gold Lake. After ten miles or so, he discovered that he was going in the wrong direction, but a packer, Wilkins by name, and his party—"a first mate," a "cabin boy," and thirteen mules—befriended him with "bed and board under the blue canopy," the board consisting of Chili beans and black coffee which are "inviting,"

he says, "to one who is fearfully hungry. . . . I slept with the mate, a good fellow with a great scar on his face, and a strong proclivity to such harmless expletives as 'good governor!' 'gosh-all-hemlock,' etc." The next morning, Wilkins pointed out the correct direction and Brooks reached Gold Lake by noon.³⁸

Brooks found lodgings by the lake where the "good lady of the house . . . offered to repair my unmentionables after I should have retired; and I had the pleasure of hearing, through the cotton walls of my bedroom, her hearty laugh over a huge triangular fissure in the slack of the garment." Brooks enjoyed a short stay, sketching and viewing the lake and surrounding country before he left for Downieville and home to Marysville. He felt an "utter poverty of language" when he wished to describe for *Mirror* readers the beauty of the Sierra Nevada in the summer.

There was no sounding cord longer than 200 feet in the area, so local opinion varied as to the depth of Gold Lake:

. . . it is generally supposed that the lake is more than two hundred feet deep, an opinion which I am not disposed to controvert. Some persons have asserted that it was over fifteen hundred feet deep, which latter statement may safely be called a "steamboat."

Some eight or nine years before, "Riverside" related, a "crazy originator" caused a stampede by claiming there was gold in the lake; when the disappointed searchers discovered they had been deceived, they nearly lynched the rumor monger.³⁹

Brooks described his trip from the buttes through the sierra foothills and home through the flat lands of Yuba County to Marysville, in his letter printed in the *Mirror* of September 19, 1860. He found stagecoach travel in the summer "intolerable" and "odorous." Mooney Flat drew a few comments from Brooks on the "usual perversity of California nomenclature." The place was given its name, he said, because "Mooney lives near by, and 'Flat' because there is not a place in it flat enough to lay out a man with decency." The arrival and departure of the stagecoaches was an event important enough to alter the normal routine of life in Mooney Flat:

The entire population turns out to receive us, with the small exception of one boy of tender years who is confined to his bed with measles. The driver dismounts at the only store, has a pass at blackguard with the "opposition driver," spreads himself with comfortable ease in an arm-chair as though he were going to pass the rest of the day here. Verdant passengers climb out to get a drink, but before we are aware the driver is on his box, and with dexterous shake of the reins, is urging his cattle out of the "flat."⁴⁰

The dry, level plain extended on all sides "bleak" and "desolate." They passed numerous "ranches" which Brooks reported were nothing but taverns. They reached the once-thriving mining center of Timbuctoo — "no African town, but hot enough and dry enough to be in the Desert of Sahara." In the doorway of the hotel, according to Brooks, could be found the "bummer," the miner on a "bust," the "hungry-looking village lawyer," the portly landlord and the "sharp" boy. These characters all gazed at the semi-daily "phenomenon" of the stage, while the thirsty male passengers again headed for a saloon. Meanwhile, the coach's two women passengers had to "undergo the examination of this committee on the public safety." On their way again, the driver regaled Brooks with a running commentary until they reached Parke's Bar, a "metropolis" of seven houses and a store, but in the first stages of a decay that was then becoming common in many of the California "Bar" towns:

Here are large one-story wooden edifices, the tenements now of bats and owls, or degraded to stabling purposes, which were once palatial caravanserais where rich miners, in the golden days of Forty-Nine, paid their ten or twenty dollars per day for the inestimable privilege of sleeping on the floor and eating leaden bread and doubtful bacon. The bars are now barren; the turbid river rolls sluggishly over the deserted claims, and the crowd of gold-seekers are long since dispersed to the four winds of heaven. We passed four of them just now, who with their tired frames beneath six feet of adamite dust are sleeping as soundly as though the homely slab at their feet were mendacious marble.⁴¹

The stage made one more stop before Marysville. This galled Brooks because it was at "Zabriskies," within sight of the spires of Marysville, but when the stagecoach driver decided to stop for a meal the passengers had to acquiesce. Some of the passengers ate, but "John Riverside" spent the time judging the "pictorial wonders which adorn the walls at Zabriskies." His practiced eye told him that they were not very good: "perspective gone mad." After the meal, their entrance into Marysville was at breakneck speed because, "Our ambitious conductor has descried his 'opposition' a mile ahead on another road, and now, like Jehu, the son of Nimshi, he 'driveth furiously.'"⁴²

For eleven more years, Brooks continued to lead a productive and useful life as a Californian. His return from the mountains did not go unnoticed:

RETURNED — The numerous friends of Noah Brooks, the well-known painter of this city, will be glad to learn that he has returned with invigorated health from his mountain journey. We are indebted to him for numerous epistolary favors during his absence.⁴³

About a month after this item appeared in the Marysville *Daily Appeal*, Brooks bought an interest in the paper. He and his partner, Benjamin Parke Avery, had taken on a formidable task because the paper was the only one outside San Francisco for Lincoln and the Republican party. Their subscription territory was a "community largely populated by pro-slavery Democrats from central and southern Illinois."⁴⁴ Marysville's main newspaper, the *California Express*, was vehemently pro-Southern and held its increasingly unpopular position all during the Civil War. In September 1861 the *Express* even went so far as to assail the Union army as a "whining, running army, that has disgraced our flag." Undeterred, Brooks and Avery set out to promulgate the Republican gospel. They were successful: Lincoln carried Marysville in 1860 by a 19-vote margin over his closest rival, Breckinridge. The Republicans took over the city government and kept control of it during the entire Civil War. Avery was sent to Sacramento as state printer. During 1861-1862, the *Appeal* made a whole series of improvements which seem to substantiate its claims as the largest newspaper north of Sacramento. First the paper's size was increased without increasing the subscription price. Then a *Weekly Appeal* was launched, and a new, large cylindrical press bought to handle increased circulation. In 1861, the *Appeal* absorbed one of its three competitors, the *Daily National Democrat*.⁴⁵ By the time Brooks left Marysville in 1862, the *Appeal* had eclipsed its chief rival, the *Express*. In 1866 the *Express* ceased publication.

Brooks and Avery worked well as a team. The former handled the news, including a lively daily column of local notes. Avery concentrated on the editorial page, and when his duties called him to Sacramento, he served as the *Appeal's* capital correspondent. Brooks wrote a number of interesting articles for the *Appeal*, but the best was an unsigned 1500-word sketch about Lincoln, printed a few days before the 1860 election. In places it is mere campaign praise, but there are portions which ring with sincerity and conviction. One paragraph will suffice as an example. This was obviously written to refute the remarkably resilient report that Lincoln was a boorish clown from the prairie, unworthy of residence in the White House:

Abraham Lincoln is no vulgar ranter, no declaiming rail-splitter, devoid of the graces and dignity of manhood, lugging in the claptrap of honest labor to help on his ambitious schemes, but a manly, earnest, simple-hearted and courteous gentleman. We have been disgusted and mortified at the ignorant and unthinking enthusiasm of some of his supporters who would picture him as an unwashed

and uncombed, long-legged, uncouth giant, bragging of his railing feats, and swinging his long arms over his discomfited opponents.⁴⁶

There are a few brief mentions of Brooks in the *Appeal* from 1860 to 1862. They indicate he was a man of stature in the local Union club and Republican party. He was also active in Presbyterian church affairs. There is some indication that he might have been considered Marysville's poet laureate.⁴⁷ His life as a Marysville citizen of note seemed all laid out for him, when, on May 21, 1862, his wife Caroline died. The only mention of Brooks' wife ever to appear in the *Appeal* was this brief obituary notice:

DIED — In this city, May 21st, Caroline Augusta, wife of Noah Brooks, aged 35 years. Boston and New York papers please copy. The funeral will take place, at the Presbyterian church this afternoon at 4 o'clock. Friends and acquaintances are respectfully invited to attend without further notice.⁴⁸

Brooks kept his grief to himself. He never mentioned his wife's death in his writings, and some of his friends never heard of it from his lips.⁴⁹ Brooks stayed on in Marysville until November 1, 1862, when he left San Francisco on the steamer *Golden Age*, bound for New York. We do not know if the decision was sudden or one that had been considered for months. We do know, however, that he went to the center of the war — Washington — in the employ of the powerful Sacramento *Daily Union*. We can think of two reasons why he probably made the move: (1) to slake the newspaperman's natural desire to get as close to the "big story" as possible; and (2) to get away from the town which held tragic memories of his wife.

Normally, the change from co-owner of a newspaper to a reporter for another would be regarded as a step down, but it is not likely that Brooks so regarded his new status. In joining the staff of the *Union*, Brooks became a member of a newspaper which was every bit as important and influential on the Pacific coast as Horace Greeley's New York *Weekly Tribune* was in the east. In its habitat the *Union* was regarded as nearly as authoritative as the Scriptures.⁵⁰ It was particularly strong in the mining camps:

Often and often in many a one of those camps when the express arrived, all that was brought was a package of letters and a great roll of Sacramento *Unions*. The miners called the paper their Bible. That hold the paper never lost, up to the closing of the Civil War.⁵¹

"CASTINE" AND THE SACRAMENTO UNION

Brooks' writings about Lincoln and the Civil War have been thoroughly worked over by historians of this period, but relatively un-

known today are his Sacramento *Union* news-letters. These 258 letters, printed over the pen-name "Castine," are on-the-spot records and give the reader of today a picture of the war and of the central figure of Lincoln as it was received by a goodly segment of Californians nearly a hundred years ago.

There were several reasons for Californians' interest in eastern news. For one thing, the fluctuations of the New York market had a momentous effect on the commerce between the east and west; for another, Washington was a fount of rich federal patronage and expenditures; in addition, the capital was the locus of federal courts, agencies, and the congress. These institutions were inundated with problems close to the Californian's heart, such as: better mail service, protection against the Indian, the transcontinental railroad, the miner's tax, land-grant litigation, and so on. California had a picturesque congressional delegation, and was represented on the Virginia front by a contingent known as the California Regiment. Finally some of the North's best-known military figures had lived or been stationed in California—Hooker, Sherman, Frémont, and Halleck. Brooks exploited these interests to the fullest. Items in his news-letters range from the trivial: "The following Californians have registered their names at Washington hotels . . .";⁵² to the significant, such as: "The Government and the Mineral Lands,"⁵³ "California Cases in the United States Supreme Court,"⁵⁴ and "Taxing the Mines and Minerals."⁵⁵

Congress was scandalously ignorant of California affairs, according to Brooks. When the controversial miner's tax was before the national legislature, "Castine" complained that a Californian "... cannot but see that while people here are as ignorant of the internal economy of California as of Borioboola Gha, they do not appear to have either appreciation or desire to know of California's wants."⁵⁶

In addition to his newspaper work, Brooks played a sub rosa role in California patronage-developments after he became a trusted friend of Lincoln. The latter once used Brooks as an emissary in a ticklish political situation, which developed out of a wholesale removal of treasury-department officials in California.⁵⁷

Entirely apart from the political climate in Washington was its regimen of temperature, moisture, etc.:

Of course every Californian is bound to believe and declare that the climate of the blessed Eureka State is the very perfection of terrestrial and celestial atmospheric and meteorological influences, to all of which I subscribe; but it is not that partial belief and homesick longing for the balmy atmosphere of the Pacific

which leads me to consider that of all the wretched and miserable climates which the writer hereof ever knew, that of Washington stands in bad prominence. It is never cold but it is very cold, and never warm but it is very warm, and those two conditions of the weather are alternated upon with surprising rapidity a dozen times in a week. . . . In most well regulated and Christian communities, only one pocket handkerchief a day is needed, but here four a day is the minimum allowance, and people with moist heads and big noses, usually manage to blow up a half dozen.⁵⁸

The irregularity of the overland-mail service was one subject Californians loved to grumble about. Brooks served up every particle of news and gossip he could find in the national capital about the Ben Holladay operation. In 1864 when Holladay's contract was up before congress for renewal (*Union*, Oct. 1) "Castine's" pen fairly dripped with sarcasm:

The high prices of grain, etc., it was said, prevented Holladay & Co. from making anything — a good joke that, when any one who has traveled that route knows that the animals never eat anything but sagebrush, and would be more scared of an oat than at a 7-inch bombshell.

There was another transportation entrepreneur whom Californians were greatly interested in — Cornelius Vanderbilt. Pioneers, who made the long, expensive voyage by steamship to California, never forgot the Atlantic half of the trip on Vanderbilt's steamships. They were termed "floating pig stys"⁵⁹ by one California newspaper. One sure way for California congressmen to please their constituents was to make a few derogatory remarks about Vanderbilt whenever possible. Brooks saw one of these displays during a debate on a bill to reward the "Commodore" with a medal. California's Higby contributed a few choice adjectives, such as "swindler." If he had the power to hang a medal around Vanderbilt's neck, Higby said, it would be "a medal of leather."⁶⁰ Brooks reported that the California delegation voted en masse, but fruitlessly, against the proposal.

He shared the high regard of his readers for Gen. "Fighting Joe" Hooker (to whom his California admirers sent a \$2000 dress-sword and other expensive gifts during the war), and Brooks kept the *Union* well supplied with information about him. He also wrote a number of items about another California general, H. W. Halleck. The newsman's opinion of Halleck, however, was a "very humble one."⁶¹

Another Californian who received a great deal of attention from "Castine" was Sen. James A. McDougall, but the publicity "Castine" gave the senator was in stark contrast to the praise he heaped on Hooker. Every foible of the senator is satirically treated by Brooks in what ap-

pears to have been a deliberate attempt to discredit McDougall. Why did the easy-going, amiable newsman become such an uncompromising, harsh critic? Brooks never revealed the reason. Perhaps he was merely stepping in tune with his newspaper, for it opposed McDougall through most of his political career. There were also some personal reasons why Brooks disliked the senator, viz., Brooks was a staunch Unionist while McDougall was notoriously pro-Southern; Brooks was noted for his probity while McDougall had a reputation for loose, unconventional living.⁶² Brooks's reports were probably colored but apparently accurate. In this regard the California legislature's public censure of McDougall in 1863 is significant.⁶³ Here is an example of how "Castine" covered a McDougall speech:

Last Friday night a serenade was given to General Meade, at Willard's Hotel, when the General was introduced to the crowd in the street below by Senator McDougall. Meade made a brief, sensible speech, which was replied to by McDougall. . . . The speech does not appear in any of the newspapers, but is reported to have been a very spirited affair, and to have commenced somewhat after this fashion: "Feller-sizzens of Washilul: You've 'zembled here to do justis to your military Gen'ral of the Army of Pot-pot-pot"—the rest of the speech was inaudible to our reporter. . . .⁶⁴

"Castine's" news-letters were widely read on the Pacific coast,⁶⁵ for reasons readily apparent: he wrote at length and authoritatively about White House and congressional activities, and supplemented these reports with hundreds of human-interest items presented in a mature but vivid style; he seemed to know every corner of Washington, from the city's back alleys to the houses of the elect; he held a clerkship in the house of representatives and thus had an opportunity to watch the 37th and 38th congresses in action; he reported the republic at war from South Carolina (1863), from New England (1863), and from the mid-west (1864), and he covered the Republican and Democratic national conventions. Besides, he had two commitments at the assemblage of Democrats in Chicago—one for the Sacramento *Union*, and one as an official observer for President Lincoln:

Lincoln asked me to write him two or three private letters while I was there, to give him a better idea, as he thought, than he might get from the newspaper accounts of the interior spirit of the people I met. I wrote . . . two letters, and he wrote me a short note in reply to the first. . . .⁶⁶

Brooks also visited the Army of the Potomac three times for a first-hand glimpse of the federal fighting man.

The friendship of Brooks and Lincoln is the happiest chapter in the

former's life. During his first winter in Washington, Brooks saw Lincoln on the average of about once a week.⁶⁷ As Lincoln's fondness grew, and as Mrs. Lincoln began to know this debonair caller, Brooks's visits became more frequent until scarcely a day passed without the Californian making an appearance at the White House. We know from his writings that he called at the executive mansion both in the daylight and at night, on his own volition and on invitation from either of the two Lincolns. He watched the couple at public engagements, at the weekly presidential levées, and in the privacy of their dining and living rooms. Brooks went with the Lincolns to visit the Army of the Potomac, and he was invited to week-ends at the president's summer abode at the Soldier's Home.

What drew the older man to the younger? We know Brooks had many attractive characteristics. He was cheerful, but not inanely so. He was intelligent, witty and cultivated. He left a reputation as a brilliant conversationalist, but we get the impression from his friendships with Lincoln and other famous men that he also must have been that "rarer bird" — the good listener. Despite his easy access to the White House, Brooks never became obtrusive: "At no time in many delicate moments of tangled affairs had Brooks mistaken his place," wrote Sandburg.⁶⁸ Brooks apparently never asked a favor for himself,⁶⁹ and in this the president, whose fine edge was constantly being worn down by swarms of favor-seekers, must have felt he had a unique companion.

Had Lincoln lived a few months longer Brooks would have become his private secretary:

As early as the 1st of January, 1865, our late President, the beloved Lincoln, told me that it had been decided not to renew the commissions of the Naval Officer and Surveyor of the Port of San Francisco; that, as I was remaining away from California unwillingly, I had better take one or the other of these positions, unless I chose to remain at the Capital as his Private Secretary, in place of Mr. John G. Nicolay, who proposed to go to Europe.⁷⁰

The pleasant prospect of holding this quasi-official position of prestige and influence was shattered by John Wilkes Booth. After Lincoln's death, Brooks found himself just another newsman in a reporter-glutted city. He was in a state of morbid depression and indecision when a friend, Sen. John Conness of California, intervened in his behalf with President Andrew Johnson. The result was a presidential appointment and a return by Brooks to California as naval officer of the port of San Francisco on July 25, 1865.⁷¹

His role as naval officer is obscure. There is no mention of him in San

Francisco papers after the first week of his arrival until he was relieved of office in the autumn of 1866. Three reasons are advanced for his removal: (1) for political reasons;⁷² (2) because he wrote a derogatory account of Johnson's inauguration as vice-president;⁷³ and (3) because of the hostility of California Congressman Cornelius Cole, whom Brooks opposed in intricate patronage matters.⁷⁴

After this one trial as a federal official, Brooks returned to the more congenial occupation of newspaperman. When a new Republican newspaper, the *Daily Times*, appeared in San Francisco on November 5, 1866, Brooks was on the editorial staff which was headed by James McClatchy, founder of the powerful *Bee* chain of newspapers. Brooks was quickly elevated to the editor's chair because, before the month ended, McClatchy left after quarreling with the owners. In its short lifetime of three years, the *Times* accomplished one notable feat: in 1867, after a two-month fight, it drove a wedge into the monopoly control of telegraphic news held by the *Alta California* and the *Bulletin* of San Francisco and the *Union* of Sacramento. One authority has said this action of the *Times* stimulated the birth of newspapers in California.⁷⁵

NOAH BROOKS AND THE *ALTA CALIFORNIA*

Sometime before September 21, 1867, Brooks left the *Times*—like his predecessor, he fought with the owners—to become managing editor of the *Alta California*.⁷⁶ Brooks kept this position until 1871. The *Alta* ceased publication in 1891, leaving behind it a reputation for stodginess which persists to the present day, but a check of its files and those of its chief competitors during the 1867-1871 period indicates that the *Alta California* matched its rivals in quality. In the autumn of 1867, it began publishing a series of news-letters from the Holy Land by the then relatively-unknown Mark Twain. The letters were popular and the *Alta* copyrighted them for future publication as a book. Twain believed he had been cheated. He was not an opponent to be laughed at, and newspaper and author were brought together for a tense series of negotiations. "Amicable counsel"⁷⁷ prevailed; Twain got his material released and eventually produced his book, *Innocents Abroad*. Brooks represented the *Alta* in some of the parleys. It might have been this experience which caused him to say later that he "would rather have any one else in the world down on him than Mark Twain."⁷⁸ Twain harbored a grudge against the *Alta* ever after, but not against Brooks whom he characterized in his *Autobiography* as "a man of sterling character . . . equipped with a right heart."⁷⁹

Friendships with Henry George and Bret Harte were highlights of Brooks's life in San Francisco. He met the former in 1866: one day, as Brooks was working in the editorial rooms of the *Times*, he was approached by the composing-room foreman. The latter called his attention to an article by an unknown printer—Henry George. Brooks thought the writing “remarkable” and bought it for the paper.⁸⁰ Later Brooks sought out George. He found a slight, red-haired young man in his late twenties, who “was so short that he had provided himself with a bit of plank on which he stood at a case too tall for him.”⁸¹ They talked for a few minutes and Brooks agreed to buy more articles from George. Brooks remembered the George of that day as “bright, alert, good-humored, and full of fun; yet his talk showed that he was a thinker, and he thought independently. . . . I liked him thoroughly and at once.”⁸² It wasn't long before Brooks hired George for his editorial staff. When Brooks went over to the *Alta*, he took his chief assistant with him and George was made *Times* editor to fill the gap. The two remained fast friends; later, when they both lived in New York, they “often talked together about the old times in San Francisco, and many a hearty laugh we had over our amusing adventures in the editorial conduct of the *Times*.”⁸³

The honor of discovering Henry George—of first giving the great economist the chance to make his living by writing—has generally been accorded to Brooks. In 1899 James H. Barry, editor of a San Francisco weekly, *The Star*, claimed that Brooks was “mistaken,” for this was the way George was discovered:

Henry George was a printer . . . on the *Times*, of which James McClatchy was editor-in-chief, and to whom he persistently appealed for an opportunity. . . . He was given that opportunity. . . . He did the work so well that McClatchy at once took him off the case, and after putting him at work for a few days in the local room, gave him a position as an editorial writer. . . .⁸⁴

Barry's account lay forgotten until 1948 when John Bruce, in his book on early San Francisco journalism, *Gaudy Century*,⁸⁵ used it as the basis for some sarcasm with respect to Brooks. On the other hand, both Henry George, Jr., and Anna George DeMille gave the credit to Brooks in their biographies of their father.⁸⁶

One of Francis Bret Harte's biographers has described Brooks as the only friend who wrote soberly of Harte's financial troubles;⁸⁷ and to those who called Harte a conceited fop Brooks's answer was: “He took his sudden rise to fame with complete equanimity.”⁸⁸ The two men can-

not be discussed without mentioning the *Overland Monthly*, which was founded in 1868 by Anton Roman, a bookseller with considerable business acumen. A financial boom was on in San Francisco and the city was challenging Boston's claim as cultural capital of the United States. Ready to supply the raw material for a new magazine were such gifted local writers as Mark Twain, John Muir, Charles Warren Stoddard, Prentice Mulford, Henry George, Ina Coolbrith, Ambrose Bierce, Brooks, and Harte.

Roman first built a sound financial structure for the *Overland*. Then he "looked about . . . for proper editorial management"; he discussed the matter "pretty thoroughly" with Brooks, took others into his confidence, and the consensus was that Harte was the best man for the job of editor. Roman agreed in general, but he had one reservation:

My only objection to Mr. Harte was that he would be likely to lean too much to the purely literary articles, while what I was then aiming at was a magazine that would help the material development of the coast. I thought he would stand in need of some good prudential advisers. Hence Noah Brooks and W. C. Bartlett were asked to become joint editors. . . .⁸⁹

The *Overland* staff had four months to prepare for the first (July) issue. The early flood of manuscripts lacked fiction, and Brooks and Harte promised each other to contribute a short story apiece. Brooks made the deadline with "The Diamond Maker of Sacramento," which he later described as "a trifling sketch founded on the actual experience of a California genius."⁹⁰ Harte, with "many sighs and groans," was unable to meet the deadline. His story, "The Luck of Roaring Camp," was finished in time for the August number, and caused a deluge of imitations including a few by Brooks.⁹¹ The *Overland* was an overnight success. As a reward, Roman gave Harte full editorial control, while Brooks and Bartlett were retained as advisers.

There was little ceremony at the *Overland* offices, at least when Brooks and Harte were working there:

Harte and I wrote the notices of new books, he writing by far the greater part; and we used to strive good-naturedly for the privilege of reviewing books that were destined to be "scalped." With the confidence of youth, it was easier for us to scalp a poor book than to do justice to a worthy one.⁹²

Once Brooks had to call upon his store of tact in the service of the magazine. A young female proof-reader raised "consternation throughout the establishment" when she came to the part in "The Luck of Roaring Camp" where one of the characters refers to another as a "d——d

little cuss.”⁹³ As neither Roman nor Harte were around, the assistant-publisher came to Brooks:

... When I read the sentence that had caused all this turmoil ... I surprised him by a burst of laughter. ... But, recovering my gravity, I advised that the whole quotation should be left until Mr. Roman's return. I was sure that he would never consent to any "editing" of Harte's story. ... "The Luck of Roaring Camp" was printed as it was written, and printing-office and vestal proof-reader survived the shock.⁹⁴

Brooks left California May 10, 1871, to become night editor of the New York *Tribune*, the *Alta California* noting his departure with the comment that he was "one of the most accomplished journalists that has ever been connected with the California press." When he heard that Brooks was coming to New York, Harte is credited with saying, "He and I will found the Society of Escaped Californians."⁹⁵ (But see below for Brooks's own "escape" — back.)

After four years with the *Tribune*, Brooks became an editorial writer for the New York *Times*. He stayed with the *Times* until 1884, when he was made editor of the Newark [N. J.] *Daily Advertiser*.

During his stay in New York, Brooks wrote at least thirty magazine articles, which appeared in such magazines as *Scribner's Monthly* and *Century*. His experiences in Maine, in Kansas, and while crossing the continent to California were converted into fiction and printed as serials for juveniles in *St. Nicholas*.⁹⁶ A number were reprinted in hard covers, two especially — *The Boy Settlers* and *The Boy Emigrants* — being still regarded as excellent works of their type.⁹⁷

In 1894 Brooks retired. He returned to Castine to a house he dubbed "The Ark." Here "he worked steadily and happily at the things he loved ... writing ... enjoying his friends ... and exerting a quiet but effective influence on the community."⁹⁸ He continued to contribute to magazines, and in the nine-year period between retirement and death he wrote five books. In addition, he took trips to the Holy Land and to the west coast where he spent a few weeks in 1897. A reporter from the San Francisco *Call* interviewed Brooks and found him "an entertaining talker on many lines and profoundly interesting when speaking of Lincoln."⁹⁹ At the turn of the century Brooks became seriously ill. Finding the Maine winters too severe, he moved to southern California, where he lived quietly at 331 North Marengo Avenue, Pasadena. His condition deteriorated in 1903,¹⁰⁰ and by July of that year he was resigned to death. An old San Francisco friend, H. H. Morse, arranged his affairs.¹⁰¹

The end came quietly on the morning of August sixteenth, the cause of death being certified as chronic bronchitis.¹⁰² In compliance with the provisions of his will, his body was shipped to Castine for burial.¹⁰³

NOTES

1. *Daily Evening Mirror* (San Francisco), Sept. 6, 1860; hereinafter called *Mirror*.
2. *Idem*.
3. *Idem*.
4. The *Mirror* was published from July 9, 1860, to sometime in Jan. 1862, according to Winifred Gregory, ed., *American Newspapers, 1821-1936* (New York, 1937), p. 53.
5. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1897), VII, 57.
6. *American Ancestry* (Albany, 1888), III, 77.
7. Wayne C. Temple, professor of American history at the University of Illinois, expects to have a biography of Brooks completed by the end of 1954.
8. Biographical sketches may be found in: *National Cycl.* . . . (as above); Milton H. Shutes, *Lincoln and California* (Palo Alto, 1943), pp. 209-14; *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1904), LVIII, 58; "The Author of the Boy Emigrants," *St. Nicholas*, III (June 1876), 524-25; H. C. Dickinson, "Noah Brooks and Castine," *The Lamp*, XXVIII (March 1904), 117-20; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1929), III, 82-83; and Frederick Evans, "Noah Brooks," *The Lamp*, XXVII (Sept. 1903), 129-32. Obituary notices of some length appeared in the *Times*, the *Herald*, and the *Tribune* of New York; and in the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner* of San Francisco; also in the *Los Angeles Herald*, and the *Pasadena Daily News*, August 17-18, 1903.
9. Shutes, *loc. cit.*, includes, in addition to his biographical sketch, many references to Brooks in the course of his work. Carl Sandburg's *Abraham Lincoln: The War Years* (New York, 1939) carries references to Brooks on at least 100 different pages of text in volumes II, III, and IV. J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President* (New York, 1952), III, 39, characterizes Brooks as "one of the ablest men in Washington. . . ."
10. Brooks wrote at least seven fictional magazine articles and five books about his early days in Castine (Robert E. Blackmon, "Castine, the Sacramento *Union* and Lincoln" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Univ. Calif., 1954).
11. Brooks, "Wrecked at Home," *St. Nicholas*, I (March 1874), 264.
12. Brooks, "The Books of an Old Boy," *Liber Scriptorum* (New York, 1893), p. 68.
13. According to Winifred Gregory, ed., *Union List of Serials* (New York, 1943), p. 618, the *Carpet Bag* was published from March 1851 to March 1853. Another young man from Maine on the *Carpet Bag* staff was Charles F. Browne,

better known as Artemus Ward. The two men were good friends, according to an unsigned item, headlined "Artemus Ward," in the *Daily Appeal* (Marysville), Dec. 19, 1860.

14. *History of Dixon and Lee County* (Dixon, Ill., 1880), p. 14.
15. *Idem*.
16. Shutes, *op. cit.*, p. 210.
17. Brooks, "Lincoln," a letter to *Century Magazine*, XV (April 1878), 884-86. Brooks wrote this letter in answer to a number of letters which were addressed to him after he had a Lincoln article published in *Century*. The quotations in the text are from one of these letters. Brooks does not identify the writer of the quoted material.
18. *Idem*.
19. *Daily Appeal* (hereinafter called the *Appeal*), Nov. 4, 1860.
20. Paul M. Angle, ed., *The Lincoln Reader* (New Brunswick, 1947), pp. 220-22.
21. Brooks, "Personal Reminiscences of Lincoln," *Scribner's Monthly*, XV (Feb. 1878), 562.
22. Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1949), p. 617.
23. Brooks to (?) Maxwell, April 3, 1860, Illinois State Historical Library.
24. Brooks, "The Plains Across," *Century Magazine*, LXIII (April 1902), 811.
25. Brooks to Maxwell (as in note 23 above).
26. Brooks (as in note 24 above).
27. *Ibid.*, p. 818.
28. These are all addressed to the previously-mentioned Maxwell and are to be found in the Illinois State Historical Library, which has three other letters by Brooks. The Huntington Library has two. But none of these five letters offers any significant information about Brooks.
29. *Appeal*, March 1, 1860.
30. Written June 5, 1860.
31. Clifford F. Weigles, "The Pioneer Press in California, 1846-1869" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Stanford Univ., 1937), lists the *Mirror* in the appendices. The Bancroft Library has one broken two-months file and some single issues. A few copies are listed in other collections.
32. J. B. Graham, *Handset Reminiscences* (Salt Lake, 1915), p. 167.
33. *Mirror*, Sept. 14, 1860.
34. *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1860.
35. *Ibid.*, Sept. 11, 1860.
36. *Idem*.
37. *Idem*.
38. *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1860.
39. *Idem*.
40. *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1860.
41. *Idem*.
42. *Idem*. For Jehu's exploits, see 2 *Kings*, IX, 20.
43. *Appeal*, Sept. 15, 1860.
44. Milton H. Shutes, "Colonel E. D. Baker," *Calif. Hist. Soc., QUARTERLY*, XVII (Dec. 1938), 311.

45. *Appeal*, Oct. 27, 1861. The *Daily National Democrat* belied its name during its short Civil War life-span by turning solid pro-administration.

46. *Appeal*, Nov. 4, 1861.

47. April 26 and July 4, 1860, Brooks was called upon to recite poems of his own, on occasions of public celebration. George C. Gorham, editor of the *Daily National Democrat*, reviewed one of Brooks's poetic efforts in his paper, April 27, 1860. He could not hear the poem, Gorham said, because of a crying baby nearby, but he had "no doubt it was very good, for it was short."

48. *Appeal*, May 22, 1862. I made a fruitless attempt to gain information about Mrs. Brooks's death, by visiting the Protestant cemetery in Marysville, by having the Marysville city records and Yuba County records searched, and by reading the contemporary Sacramento, San Francisco, and Boston, as well as Marysville, papers. Temple has collected testimony that Brooks later had the body of his wife re-interred in Castine. Shutes and Temple say that Caroline Brooks died in childbirth, but they do not offer evidence. I do not even know when she came to California. It was sometime between April 3, 1860, when Brooks mentions her in his letter to Dixon, and her death two years later. There is no hint in Marysville papers whether she came to California by steamship or wagon. A check of the Panama steamer passenger-lists in the San Francisco *Alta California* and *Bulletin* revealed only two possibilities: a "Mrs Brooks" (no initials given) arrived in San Francisco on May 13, 1860, and another on March 26, 1861.

49. Robert J. Cole, ed., *Lincoln by Friend and Foe* (New York, 1922), p. 8.

50. Ella Stirling Mighels, *The Story of the Files* (San Francisco, 1893), p. 79.

51. C. C. Goodwin, *As I Remember Them* (Salt Lake, 1913), p. 80.

52. *Sacramento Daily Union* (hereinafter called the *Union*), Feb. 22, 1864.

53. *Ibid.*, April 12, 1864.

54. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1864.

55. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1864.

56. *Idem.*

57. Brooks, *Washington in Lincoln's Time* (New York, 1895), pp. 116-19; and Sandburg, *op. cit.*, II, 624-26.

58. *Union*, March 4, 1863.

59. John Haskell Kemble, "The Panama Route to California, 1848-1869" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. Calif., 1938), p. 137.

60. *Union*, Feb. 20, 1865.

61. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1863.

62. Russell Buchanan, "James A. McDougall, A Forgotten Senator," *Calif. Hist. Soc. QUARTERLY*, XV (Sept. 1936), 208-209, says there was little mention of McDougall in California papers after 1863, but this does not hold for the *Union*. "Castine" kept up his campaign against the senator until the winter of 1864-1865 when the Confederacy began to break. Brooks did not pick out a helpless target in McDougall. The senator was noted for his eloquent, barbed tongue.

63. Buchanan, *loc. cit.*

64. *Union*, April 4, 1864.

65. Sandburg, *op. cit.*, II, 269; Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 129; *Los Angeles Daily Times*, Aug. 18, 1903, the *New York Times* and *San Francisco Chronicle* of the same

date, all say Brooks's letters to the *Union* were widely read on the west coast. The *Alta California* of May 10, 1871, stated that Brooks's Washington assignment enhanced his reputation as a journalist on the coast.

66. Brooks, "Lincoln Reminiscences," *Magazine of History*, IX (Feb. 1909), 107-108.

67. Brooks, "Personal Reminiscences of Lincoln," *Scribner's Monthly*, XV (Feb. and March 1878), 561-69 and 673-81.

68. Sandburg, *op. cit.*, IV, 115.

69. Cole (as in note 49 above), p. 8.

70. *Union*, Aug. 2, 1865; see also Brooks, *The Character and Religion of President Lincoln*, A Letter of Noah Brooks, May 10, 1865 (Champlain, 1919).

71. *Union*, July 27, 1865, and the San Francisco *Daily Morning Call*, *Daily Evening Bulletin*, and *Alta California*, all of July 26, 1865.

72. *Dict. Am. Biog.*, III, 82-83; *National Cycl. Am. Biog.*, VII, 57; and Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-32. Brooks, as a radical Republican, was an opponent of President Johnson.

73. Shutes, *op. cit.*, p. 213, and the San Francisco *Examiner*, Aug. 18, 1903, make this claim. The latter says that the story appeared in the *Appeal* in 1866, but no such item could be found in this paper during that year. "Castine's" description of the painful Johnson incident at his inauguration appeared in the *Union*, April 10, 1865.

74. San Francisco *Bulletin*, Sept. 17, 1866. This version was written by James W. Simonton, eastern correspondent for the *Bulletin*, who was a bitter foe of Brooks. The two men appear to have supported different factions in California patronage-matters during the Civil War.

75. Victor Rosewater, *History of Cooperative News-Gathering in the United States* (New York, 1930), p. 147.

76. On this date, an article was printed in the *Alta* which could have been written by no one else but Brooks. It is headlined, "The Hooker Letter," and tells of an incident during Lincoln's and Brooks's 1863 visit to the Army of the Potomac, Brooks's version of the visit being used widely in the Lincoln literature. Otherwise, there is nothing in the *Alta* to indicate that Brooks was one of the paper's editors until May 10, 1871, when he left the state.

77. Brooks, "Mark Twain in California," *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* [to give it its full name at that time], LVII (Nov. 1898), 97-99.

78. De Lancy Ferguson, *Mark Twain: Man and Legend* (New York, 1943), p. 284.

79. Mark Twain's *Autobiography* (New York, 1924), I, 245.

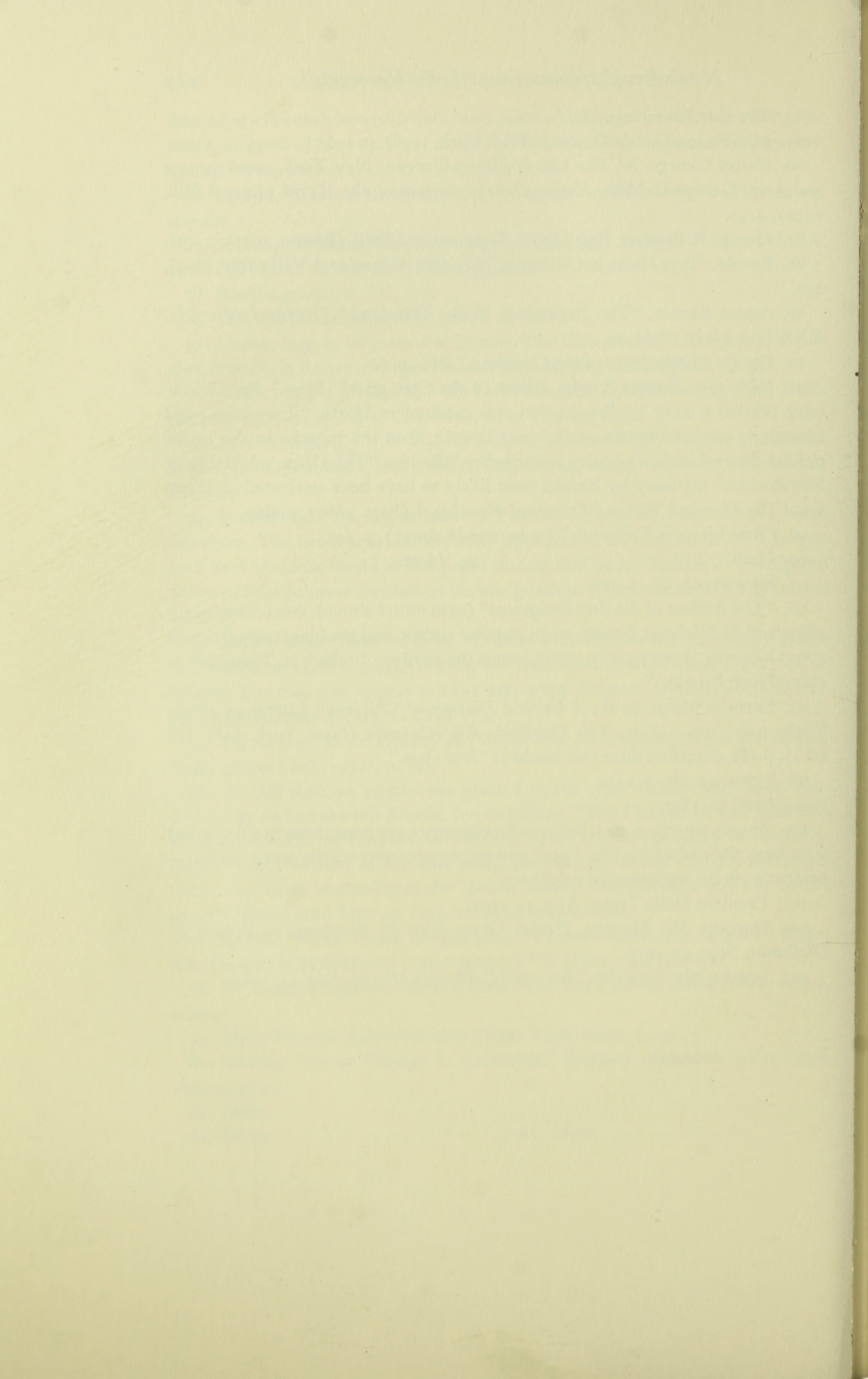
80. Brooks, "Henry George in California," *Century Magazine*, LVII (Feb. 1899), 549-52.

81. *Idem.*

82. *Idem.*

83. *Idem.*

84. *The Star*, March 25, 1899.
85. John Bruce, *Gaudy Century* (New York, 1948), p. 146.
86. Henry George, Jr., *The Life of Henry George* (New York, 1900), p. 173; and Anna George DeMille, *Henry George, Citizen of the World* (Chapel Hill, 1950), p. 47.
87. George R. Stewart, *Bret Harte, Argonaut and Exile* (Boston, 1931), p. 172.
88. Brooks, "Bret Harte in California," *Century Magazine*, LVIII (July 1899), 450.
89. Anton Roman, "The Beginnings of the *Overland*," *Overland Monthly*, XXXII n.s. (July 1898), 72.
90. Brooks, "Early Days of the *Overland*," *ibid.*, p. 6.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Samuel Bowles, editor of the Springfield [Mass.] *Republican*, once printed a story by Brooks that was credited to Harte. "It was not good enough to pass as Harte's work," said Brooks, "but the mistake in the credit tickled the real author's vanity nevertheless." Besides "The Diamond Maker of Sacramento," the story by Brooks most likely to have been attributed to Harte was "The Haunted Valley," *Overland Monthly*, I (Sept. 1868), 254-63.
92. "Bret Harte in California" (as in note 88 above), p. 449.
93. *Idem.*
94. *Idem.*
95. Stewart, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
96. "The Author of the Boy Emigrants" (as in note 8 above). According to the editors of *St. Nicholas*, Brooks was a popular author, and the biographical sketch about him was "a response to many letters the burden of which is, 'Please tell us about Noah Brooks.'"
97. Cornelia Meigs, et al., *A Critical History of Children's Literature* (New York, 1953), pp. 241-42. *The Columbia Encyclopedia* (New York, 1950 [2d ed.]), p. 261, describes these two books as "first class."
98. Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
99. April 10, 1897.
100. Shutes, *op. cit.*, p. 214, believes Brooks may have gone through a depressed state near the end of his life. Local newspaper accounts say he was a recluse — evidently on the testimony of neighbors.
101. *Pasadena Daily Times*, Aug. 17, 1903.
102. Dorothy W. Morgan, Health Dept., City of Pasadena, to Robert E. Blackmon, Sept. 30, 1953.
103. *Los Angeles Saturday Times and California Mirror*, Aug. 22, 1903.



The Oratory of Thomas Starr King

By J. A. WAGNER

THE YEARS 1860-1864, culminating in Thomas Starr King's death, found him serving as pastor of the Unitarian church in San Francisco and devoting his spare time to the political gospel of preservation of the Union, from the Mexican border to Canada.

Not long after King's birth in New York on December 17, 1824, his father, a Universalist minister, accepted the pastorate of a large parish in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The city's own historic atmosphere, its proximity to Boston and to Bunker Hill—site of Webster's great orations—had their effect on young King. In the course of an address, entitled "Daniel Webster," delivered in San Francisco on March 19, 1861, he relates how, as a boy of fifteen, he had pushed his way up to the speaker's platform when Webster delivered his first Bunker Hill speech. There he had "caught the flash from under the thunderous brows, and saw the genial glow upon the face." King was to find some of his strongest arguments for the Northern cause in Webster's old speeches.

Where Webster exerted an influence upon King's political thinking, William Ellery Channing assisted by moulding his social and religious attitudes. Channing's habit of making social evils the business of the preacher was reflected in King's insistence upon his right and duty as a minister to discuss great questions of state in the pulpit. His sermons bore such titles as "The Fugitive Slave Law," "American Nationality," and "The New Perils of the Nation." Speaking of those who toiled physically for their daily bread, Channing once said, "Fashion is a poor vocation. Its creed, that idleness is a privilege, and work a disgrace, is among the deadliest errors."¹ In King's sermon, "Earth and the Mechanic Arts," is a parallel thought:

For thousands of years society has been struggling against a prejudice that labor upon matter, except in the most refined and artistic ways is degrading . . . to express conceptions in machinery that create wealth and happiness, to utter talent

and genius through new combinations of matter and force puts the ungenteel stamp upon the brow and the spirit.

The premature death of his father forced Thomas Starr King to abandon plans to attend Harvard University and to find employment. While acting as principal of the West Grammar School of Medford, Massachusetts, he met the Rev. Hosea Ballou, II, pastor of the Universalist church. Ballou, who later became the first president of Tufts College, had been a close friend of King's father, and therefore took a personal interest in the new principal. Under Ballou's counsel, King entered upon a systematic course of study with a view to the ministry. Ballou encouraged him to excel, facilitated his training, and imbued him with a liberal Christian attitude. But, as King's letters, included in Richard Frothingham's *A Tribute to Starr King* (Boston, 1865, pp. 98-105) show, by the fall of 1848 the sectarianism of the Universalists had become too narrow for Ballou's pupil, and he accepted the Unitarian pastorate tendered him by the Hollis Street Society in Boston.

King's philosophy was dominated by his desire to promote human welfare. In his sermon, "The Seed that Fell into Good Ground," he pointed out the age-old law that "... 'where ever one member suffer, all the members suffer with it.'" He fought slavery because it deprived man of the dignity and freedom essential to personal development. Similarly, he fought sectionalism because it impaired the growth of unity and national spirit in America. In his sermon, "The Northern Uprising," he declared, "It [the Civil War] is a struggle for the supremacy of Constitutional law in America, and for the right of citizenship in an imperial republic which our history, our polity, our geography, and the power of the Almighty have *made to be one*." King looked upon nationalism as one of the steps in the evolution of a federation of nations. He considered belief in God's word, freedom for mankind, and the promotion of nationalism to be means of bettering the human family.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, most Californians, regardless of their intellectual level, felt that there were numerous causes for disaffection toward the federal government, centering in particular about its failure to provide the state with a stable land-title policy, and to bring about the construction of a transcontinental railway. Underlying their grievances, however, was an abundance of pro-Union sentiment. An orator for that side was required to awaken the people to their responsibility. How did King go about it?

KING'S MEANS OF PERSUASION

He used inductive, deductive, and causal reasoning with equal facility; and he made cold logic more palatable by emotional appeal. Primary emotional appeals were pride in America, fear and hatred of the secessionists, duty to God and the Union, and self-preservation. The Union flag fluttered in every patriotic address; hallowed buildings such as Independence Hall, Washington's home at Mount Vernon, and the national capitol were frequently mentioned. Battlefields were referred to in an effort to keep past glories and sacrifices before the audience. Typical use of this device is found in the lecture entitled "Washington": "The dust of Washington must belong to the nation which holds Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, and Valley Forge."

How skillfully King used emotional devices is seen in a report on his speaking in the *San Francisco Bulletin* of March 4, 1864. There it was claimed that he "warmed the coldest audience into enthusiasm with his tact in feeling out his audience and humoring it until every fraction of it was in sympathy with him, when he boldly led off to the point he had in view." In the speech "New Nation," he began with discreet praise, "I congratulate you, friends, that the Spirit which rallied to support the old declaration [of independence] is alive here also." He commented upon the beautiful day, felt pity with them that the nation was at war, built up suspense through negation by telling them what the speech was *not* going to be, and then presented his theme. Care was taken to avoid digressions during emotional developments, and he rarely impaired their effectiveness by prolongation of the mood.

King's approach to hostile groups demonstrates his versatility in adapting materials. When occasion demanded he would lash out with invective, or, if it better suited the temper of the group, he would show deference to the judgment of his hearers. On one occasion, when he expressed a sentiment unfavorable to some of his auditors, King was hissed. He had been speaking of snakes, so he said, "There's the hiss of the serpent now." The blow was effective; for several minutes he was unable to proceed because of the laughter and applause of the audience. One of King's contemporaries, the Rev. Charles W. Wendte, reports that on another occasion and under similar circumstances King retorted, "There are two kinds of animals that express themselves by a hiss—the goose and the snake . . . behold the copperhead!"²

He also reconciled his auditors by making admissions. In "Chief Doctrines" he said, "We do not claim to have all truth; we make no pre-

tensions to be *the* Church." He sometimes praised the opposition. In "Doctrine of the Spirit," he conceded, "I believe, most gladly and fervently, that the dignified Episcopal Church, the electric Methodist Church, the Baptists . . . the Presbyterians . . . are doing some indispensable work of the Master. . . ."

USE OF WORDS

King achieved clarity and assisted to win acceptance through his choice of words. Concrete, familiar words, such as "horses," "logs," "mud," "gamblers," "grapes," "trees," and "toil," were liberally represented in his speeches.

Some of his expressions, though appropriate to the occasion, might have been questioned by some of the "celebrated authors" of his day. When in his lecture, "Books and Reading," he referred to the inexpensive nature of good literature he said, "For six 'bits' I can buy De Quincey's 'Suspiria de Profundis' . . ." In "Intellectual Duties," the gamblers present were not the only ones who understood him when King declared, "Ten chances to one you will not succeed in the attempt."

HUMOR

King used humor sparingly and, when employed, it was designed to produce a nod or a smile — rarely would it send the audience into a paroxysm of laughter. In "Two Declarations," he told of the little girl who, when asked, "What did God create?" answered promptly, "The Earth, the sun, the moon, the stars — and stripes." On the lighter side also was his reference to women in "Substance and Show":

The difference in power between a woman's scolding and a woman's tears is explained now. Chemistry has put it into formulas. When a lady scolds, a man has to face only a few puffs of articulate carbonic acid; but her weeping is liquid lightning.

Humor sometimes assisted his adaptation to difficult situations. Prior to a lecture one evening, pro-slavery and anti-slavery factions caused such an uproar that the chairman, failing to quiet them, sat down without introducing King. The latter arose, advanced to the front of the stage and said in stentorian tones, "Ladies and Gentlemen, my name is Thomas Starr King. I have come to read you a lecture on 'The Laws of Disorder.'" The audience laughed, applauded, and then settled down to listen.³

DRAMATIC DEVICES

One of King's favorite dramatic devices was to turn suddenly to the audience for their opinion. In his sermon "Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,"

he asked, "Judge if we have any warrant for this assertion." When such a statement prefaced a paragraph, he was saying, in effect, "Your judgment is good. Let us look at this problem objectively." When the appeal climaxed the argument, he implied, "Here is the proof. I am sure you will agree it is conclusive."

Other dramatic means of holding interest and effecting persuasion included dramatic dialogue, question and answer techniques, personification and the omission of conjunctive particles. The latter is exemplified in King's description of the fury of Webster's reaction to a verbal attack by Haynes, "The eyes opened; the mane bristled; the muscles swelled; he uttered his voice; he sprang; he struck." Such impressive use of stylistic elements promoted acceptance of his ideas and compelled the audience to follow his thinking.

In addition to the foregoing, King demonstrated a keen sense of showmanship. During the war years, he created patriotic atmosphere by draping his pulpit with bunting. A particularly dramatic setting was arranged for the delivery of his oration, "The New Nation to Issue from the War." According to the *Alta* of June 18, 1862:

At the hour mentioned, the Company, a gallant looking set of regimentals, marched upon the stage followed by the orator of the evening. The display of stacked muskets, flags, etc., was very fine, the spacious platform being surrounded by glistening bayonets, and Stars and Stripes.

His conviction that "there is nothing like the right setting" was also evident in the preludes to his church sermons. One of his congregation described "a most sublime service" at which King had invited Annie Louise Cary, a popular opera star, to sing a solo:

. . . in the choir rose a fair woman in perfect white, the organ pealed forth a familiar tune, and she, lifting her voice . . . sang the old song. . . . A breathless silence fell upon the great crowd. . . . As she closed and poured her soul into a triumphant burst of music, King arose to preach.⁴

DELIVERY

King read all of his great wartime addresses from manuscript. Although reading, contrasted with extemporaneous delivery, imposed a handicap upon King, a rival minister called "his manner calm and impressive . . . as near as possible the perfection of delivery in a read sermon."⁵

King's delivery was also handicapped by his diminutive appearance. He was slender (he weighed only 120 pounds), youthful, with a beardless, boyish face, long hair, and dark, gray eyes. A reporter for the San Francisco *Herald* of May 30, 1860, commented:

There was nothing remarkable about his head, face or figure. Seen casually in a crowd, if noticed at all, he would be set down as deficient in energy, of but moderate intellect, sensitive, and volatile, with a vanity a straw would tickle . . .

The anxiety and disappointment of the audience was quickly dispelled, however, by the magic of a deep, rich voice. One of King's biographers, William Simonds, claimed that the minister's voice "Thrilled and throbbed through the audience like an organ, carrying conviction captive before its wonderful melody." Simonds adds that when one of the preacher's colleagues was asked to name King's preëminent gift, he immediately answered, "His voice."⁶ News reporters referred to his vocal quality as "electric," "resonant," "sweet," "deep," "rich," and assigned such similes as "clear as a bell," and "loud and cheering as a trumpet."

King's delivery was further enhanced by his bodily action. The expressiveness of his face mirrored his sincerity and the intensity of his feeling. Occasionally there was "a peculiar shake and nod of the head, giving the impression of deeply settled conviction."⁷ Critics referred to his eyes as "extraordinary," "luminous," "wonderfully expressive," and "living sermons."

His ability to sense the feelings of the audience and to gesture at the appropriate moment was demonstrated in a patriotic address delivered for the Sanitary Commission (equivalent to today's Red Cross). After describing the sufferings from disease and wounds, "he lifted his hand in one of those gestures, almost as eloquent as his words, and the audience, under the spell, rose to their feet and cheered for the soldiers of the Union."⁸ An account in the *Alta* of May 16, 1860, described his gesticulation as "graceful and forcible."

EFFECT

Rhetorical critics generally agree that the success of a speech must be measured in terms of its effect upon the audience. The word "immediate" as used below refers not only to the surface response at the time of the speech, but also to the actions taken by the people of California soon thereafter. As a further measure of rhetorical effectiveness, King's ideas will be considered from the standpoint of their long-range merit.

Judging from surface response, King's patriotic speeches must be declared effective. According to the *Bulletin*, September 2, 1861:

His comments . . . were received with much shouts, as even the Music Hall has seldom witnessed before. Indeed, the sharp points were terrifically "Hi! Hie-ed!" Cries of "Good! Good!," "That's so!," "That's the talk!" etc. and the clapping

and stamping occupied so large a portion of the evening, that it took Mr. King a full half hour longer to get through with the lecture.

Immediate response of a more substantial nature followed one of King's appeals on behalf of the United States Sanitary Commission. A wealthy gentleman with a reputation for frugality was so aroused by the minister's appeal that he signed a pledge to pay "Five hundred dollars a month, on the first day of each and every month during the war."⁹

Of the five million dollars received into the treasury of the Sanitary Commission during the war, \$1,233,831.31, or over one-fourth of the amount contributed by the country at large, was donated by California. Although the statement by Fitz-Hugh Ludlow, national secretary of the Sanitary Commission, to the effect that "Starr King was the Sanitary Commission in California"¹⁰ is an exaggeration, the response to King's oratory—the willingness of his auditors to contribute to the commission—shows the vital role he played in this humanitarian program.

One alleged result of King's oratory, that he "saved" California for the Union, has been the subject of considerable controversy. Ralph Waldo Emerson personally informed King that he was "the benefactor of all who have to do with him and that the salvation and future of California was mainly in his hands."¹¹ Mrs. Jessie Frémont claimed the minister "was beloved in California, for it was felt that he saved the State to the Union."¹² This conviction was voiced also by Gen. Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the Union armies.¹³

The writer found little objective evidence to support the preceding point of view. A more realistic position concerning King's patriotic contribution is taken by one of his contemporaries, the Rev. S. H. Willey, who declared:

When people in the East, or elsewhere, speak of Mr. King as "Having saved California to the Union," they say what needs to be corrected. They say what can truthfully be said of no man. . . . The spirit that saved California to loyalty and the Union, was . . . the public, giving its solemn verdict in a great national crisis. Mr. King's being here just at that time, and having . . . a rare ability to fall into sympathy with his audience, and to bring out their enthusiasm, were circumstances most fortunate for him, and for the country's cause here.¹⁴

Public demonstrations at the time of King's death may also be considered as further evidence of the influence he had wielded over the community and the nation.

LONG RANGE EFFECT

The long-range measure of rhetorical effectiveness is whether a

speaker was able to grasp the probable effect of current happenings upon the course of history. Many of King's ideas have their counterparts in today's political journals; many of his prophetic statements regarding world government, education, and national morality have either been realized or show promise of fruition.

In King's speech, "New Nation," which was delivered over ninety years ago, he said, "Now the age is dawning of *immense empires*. . . . Russia is the type on the old continent of this new movement . . . and the United States in the New World." If King were present today he would say to international statesmen:

We must give up the idea that the field of politics is beyond the reach and control of Christian responsibility, or we are lost. We must give up the idea that our cannon, seven times multiplied, can avail unless a principle loads and fires them. . . . On the national scale he reminds us in the speech, "Treason," that we "must give up the idea that we can indulge in the usual party strifes safely, in a crisis-hour of history like this, or we shall be lost."

The following concepts from his "Organization of Liberty on the Western Continent" may be found in the pages of our present foreign policy:

The mission of our land is still the path of organization, not aggressive propaganda or military interference. Let its influence be felt, in the lines of just and holy law, by process of construction through moral forces in favor of a higher national morality; by forcible protests against oppressive interference on the part of other nations in violation of the international code, but still with the dignity that shows the desire to keep the posture of peaceful friendship and practical instruction toward the European world.

In his lecture, "Washington," King nurtured the hope that the "chivalry of beneficence . . . among distracted races would hasten the time when spears will be beaten into pruning hooks . . . the nations learning war no more [cf. *Isaiah*, II, 4]." This sentiment has a familiar ring today in the halls of the United Nations.

Unlike his patriotic utterances, King's religious speeches contain few prophetic statements. In his sermon, "Evil and Remedy," he indicated that church doctrine would change with the times, but he stopped short of prognostication. King's excellent reputation as a minister, both in Boston and San Francisco, appears to rest upon his personal qualifications; i.e., on his tact, managerial ability, patience, and love for his fellow man, rather than upon his contributions as an original theological thinker. And had he not taken the Unitarian parish in San Francisco in

1860 on the eve of the Civil War and been imbued with soul-consuming fervor for the Union, there is room for doubt whether, from the long-range point of view, his oratory would be so highly rated.

In 1927, the California legislature voted to have Thomas Starr King represent this state in the national hall of fame—a fitting tribute to the patriot-preacher who insisted that “in every association and all efforts that seek the highest welfare of man, and prepare the way for his free culture and rightful enjoyment, as a creature of God, the American idea justifies itself . . . vindicates its nature.”¹⁵

NOTES

1. *The Works of William E. Channing* (Boston: American Unitarian Assoc., 1888), p. 40.
2. C. W. Wendte, *Thomas Starr King, Patriot and Preacher* (Boston, 1921), p. 198.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 57.
4. S. D. Woods, *Lights and Shadows of Life on the Pacific Coast* (New York, 1910), p. 177.
5. *Pacific Expositor*, I (June 1860), 553.
6. William D. Simonds, *Starr King in California* (San Francisco, 1917), pp. 10, 80.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
8. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-79.
10. Wendte, *op. cit.*, pp. 188-89.
11. R. W. Emerson to King, dated Concord, Mass., Nov. 7, 1862 (manuscript, in King Collection—Letters, Society of Calif. Pioneers, San Francisco).
12. Jessie B. Frémont and Francis Preston Frémont, “Great Events during the Life of John C. Frémont” (manuscript, in Frémont Miscellany, Bancroft Library).
13. Wendte, *op. cit.*, p. 223.
14. S. H. Willey, *Thirty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1879), p. 53.
15. Thomas Starr King, “Patriotism,” June 2, 1851.

NOTE: All of King's speeches cited in this paper are available in the rare book division, Stanford University library.

San Francisco Harbor Defense During the Civil War

By BENJAMIN FRANKLIN GILBERT

THE COMMERCIAL and strategic importance of San Francisco and the Mare Island navy yard during the Civil War focused attention on the defense problems of the bay area. Confederate privateers and raiders were threatening California gold shipments, vital to the North; and suspicious operations were being carried on by foreign warships. As a result, the duties of the U. S. Pacific squadron, in defending the coastline and performing customary diplomatic missions, were greatly increased at a time when federal warships were urgently needed to blockade the Confederate States. San Francisco authorities, both military and civic, dreading attack from either or both of these sources, continually petitioned the federal government for more adequate defenses.

As early as January 19, 1861, the war department ordered Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, commanding the department of the Pacific, to divert two companies of artillery from Fort Vancouver to San Francisco.¹ Soon thereafter, the 3rd U. S. artillery, commanded by Capt. John H. Lendrum, occupied Fort Point at the southern entrance to the Golden Gate. Meanwhile, an emergency order discontinued all construction work at the fort, and the civilian mechanics and laborers were discharged. Then General Johnston ordered 10,000 rifled muskets, accouterments, and ammunition to be stored on Fort Alcatraz; heavier guns were to be shipped to Fort Point.²

At this time Alcatraz Island was a prime fortress, garrisoned by 120 soldiers. It had a belt of encircling batteries, a massive brick guard-house, and a barracks, three stories high, with accommodations for 600 men. Three bombproof magazines each held 10,000 pounds of powder. The lighthouse, with a Fresnel lantern, was visible for twelve miles; and in foul weather an automatic fog-bell struck every fifteen seconds. Other buildings included a large furnace for heating cannon balls, and

a 50,000-gallon cistern for fresh water, the water being transported to the island from nearby Sausalito.³

When the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached California, the people as a whole pledged loyalty to the Union, but alleged secessionist plots to win California for the Confederacy aroused the authorities and citizens to take precautionary measures. From time to time, rumors circulated that Mare Island navy yard would be subjected to an assault by Confederate banditti. A modern touch is contained in a letter, dated August 26, 1861, from Gen. Edwin V. Sumner, Johnston's successor, to Capt. William H. Gardner, commandant at Mare Island, stating that several secessionists were employed at the yard: "I would respectfully and earnestly represent to you," said Sumner, "the danger of keeping these men in your command. It is not right that any man should draw his bread from a Government that he is denouncing, and no man with any pride would do it."⁴ Apparently the commandant believed that the general was attempting to give him orders, for, in a second letter, Sumner said that the naval officer was mistaken in assuming that he had been dictatorial; his only purpose in writing to him was to furnish intelligence which he thought the commanding officer of the navy yard should know.⁵

In September, Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles requested that the war department furnish a company of soldiers to garrison Mare Island, since there were no marines stationed there for guard duty. Stowed in the powder magazine at the naval base was a large quantity of powder and ammunition. Secretary Welles had information that the magazine was in an exposed condition, and he considered that the guard, consisting of two civilian watchmen, was insufficient for security purposes.⁶

On December 12, 1861, Gen. George Wright, Sumner's replacement, addressed a letter to Col. René E. De Russy, chief engineer, requesting that he devise a defense plan to circumvent any attack by land or sea upon San Francisco; Wright felt that the city would be unable to defend itself, in the event of war with a foreign power.⁷ After completing an inspection of the fortifications at Fort Point and Alcatraz, General Wright reported to the war department that the forts were in good order. However, he stated that it would be necessary to double the number of guns in order to achieve full armament; San Francisco would be the obvious point of attack in case of a foreign war, and both Oregon and Washington Territory were virtually defenseless.⁸

In a letter dated January 7, 1862, from General Wright to Sen. Milton S. Latham of California, Wright stated that the defenses of the Pacific coast were satisfactory for peacetime conditions, but war would subject the entire coast to a series of assaults. He advises that the number of guns in the various harbor-defenses be doubled, and hopes "that the united delegation from this coast will bring the subject before the Department and Congress."⁹ On January eleventh, Wright wrote to Gov. Leland Stanford informing him of Colonel De Russy's survey of the defense requirements of San Francisco. He concludes with the statement:

In case of a war with a maritime nation, the immediate attention of the enemy would most certainly be directed to this city, the great entrepôt of our possessions on the Pacific coast. To prevent the ingress of ships of war, we have the forts at Fort Point and on Alcatraz Island with 140 heavy guns now in position at commanding points. Batteries can readily be thrown up, and with such naval force as could be concentrated in the harbor, it is believed this city would be safe. The General Government has but a small amount of funds at present available for defensive works on this coast, but I apprehend no embarrassment on this account, not for a moment doubting that the loyal and Union-loving people of California will most cheerfully respond to any call which may be made on them, whether for men or money to defend their State from foes without or traitors within.¹⁰

About a month later, Colonel De Russy, after completing a preliminary reconnaissance, made a report to General Wright. He proposed placing twenty guns in a temporary battery on a beach near Fort Point and mounting ten 42-pounders on a nearby hill. Opposite Fort Point in a cove at Lime Point, a battery of twenty guns was to be erected. These additional guns at the entrance to the harbor would provide a total of 181 guns bearing on the Golden Gate. As a second line of defense, De Russy proposed constructing a battery of an additional twenty guns on Alcatraz, and one of ten guns at Blunt's Point on Angel Island. To forestall an enemy vessel from passing through Raccoon Straits toward the navy yard and Benicia arsenal, he recommended erecting batteries at Stewart's Point on Angel Island with twenty or thirty guns. In order to prevent a warship from reaching the anchorage between Yerba Buena Island and the city itself—a location which would be out of the range of the guns on Fort Alcatraz—the army engineer proposed that guns be placed at a commanding position on Yerba Buena. He also recommended certain interior fortifications to protect the upper stretches of San Francisco Bay. These proposals were De Russy's temporary plans for the defense of the harbor.¹¹

General Wright's problem was to obtain the necessary guns and appropriations for their installation. On March 12, 1862, he wrote to Capt. Julian McAllister, chief of ordnance at Benicia arsenal, stating that he was unable to obtain guns from the east. Therefore, he said: "We must establish a foundry, cast our own guns, projectiles, &c., and be prepared to meet any emergency."¹² Captain Gardner of the navy yard placed eighty-nine guns from his ordnance department at Wright's disposal. Then Wright wrote to Gen. Lorenzo Thomas at the war department as follows:

I propose to use every gun I can command for the defense of this city and harbor. Although there are several points on the Pacific Coast that are exposed to capture by a hostile fleet, yet, in case of a war, San Francisco would first attract the enemy's attention. The loss of San Francisco and harbor involves also the loss of our navy-yard and our military arsenal at Benicia. In fact, it destroys for the time all our commerce on the Pacific. Hence this place should be made impregnable.¹³

In a letter addressed from Mare Island on April 4, 1862, Admiral Charles H. Bell, commanding the Pacific squadron, described the defenses of San Francisco to Secretary of Navy Welles. He pointed out that there was only one fort on the southern side of the harbor entrance and none on the northern side, but that Alcatraz was fortified. Admiral Bell lamented that these were the only fortifications; he asserted that, in the event of war with a maritime power, a few large steamers could easily pass the forts. "... the City of San Francisco is the Key to the whole of California and this place, once in the possession of a formidable power, the State might be lost to the Union."¹⁴ Admiral Bell suggested assigning a single steam-ram to the harbor, with a few heavy guns mounted on it. As a temporary measure he recommended using the hulk of the old warship, *U.S.S. Independence*.¹⁵

Late in April, it was reported that a band of secessionists planned to seize the powder magazine at Mare Island navy yard, and Admiral Bell ordered a guard of marines to the yard. At the suggestion of Capt. Gardner, navy-yard commandant, the U. S. coast-survey steamer, *Active*, commanded by Benjamin F. Sands, was ordered by telegraph to proceed from San Francisco to Mare Island.¹⁶ Sands had been placed in charge of a government survey to the Pacific coast, his two sons, William and Preston, being given appointments under him. At an earlier date, the *Active* had been used as a dispatch boat, but more recently she had participated in an Indian war in Washington Territory. To ready her for her new assignment, the Mare Island yard equipped her with a

battery of 32-pounder guns, and supplies of small arms and ammunition were put aboard. Then the vessel, her crew drilled, was anchored at the lower end of Mare Island so that her guns could command the approaches to the powder magazine.¹⁷

Admiral Bell wrote to Secretary Welles that Mare Island was in no real danger as long as his flagship, the *U.S.S. Lancaster*, was at the yard. However, he was apprehensive as to what would happen once the vessels were withdrawn. Bell stated that the lands near the yard, formerly held by Gen. Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, were presently occupied by squatters. The admiral apparently was suspicious of the squatters, for he requested a guard of one hundred marines.¹⁸

On May 29, 1862, Bell reported to Welles concerning the strength of British and French naval forces along the coast.¹⁹ He listed the names and types of thirteen British warships, and commented:

A number of the English vessels on this list were sent from India and the China Seas immediately after the "Trent" affair, in order to be prepared for hostilities with the United States. In the present state of the defences of this harbor, one half of this force could command the city of San Francisco and take possession of this yard.²⁰

Despite the recommendations by military authorities on the scene, adequate defenses for San Francisco seemed to be only proposals on paper. In September 1862, Capt. William A. Winder, commanding Fort Alcatraz, complained that his storehouses were not sufficient in number, his prisoners were too numerous, and his water supply was insecure in the event of an enemy attack.²¹ The additional batteries at the various forts, as proposed by Colonel De Russy, were not erected. On January 26, 1863, General Wright requested Capt. Thomas Oliver Selfridge, the newly appointed commandant at Mare Island, to moor a vessel with heavy guns at the entrance to the Golden Gate. Wright related how a rebel steamer might, during the night or in fog, slip past Fort Point and Fort Alcatraz and, beyond the reach of their guns, command the city.²² Three days later, Captain Selfridge replied that he had no command over any vessels except those at the navy yard. He related that the only available ship, suitable for heavy guns, was the *U.S.S. Independence*, presently used as a barracks for marines. The *U.S.S. Saginaw* was undergoing repairs and temporarily was not available. Selfridge suggested that the city or state purchase a steamer and arm it, but he said that the *Cyane* would arrive within a month and he would direct her commander to lie in the harbor, in order to aid the forts in the event that a Confederate raider should attempt entering.²³

In February 1863, the sailing sloop, *Cyane*, arrived in San Francisco, and her commanding officer was ordered to aid in the defense of the harbor at a location not covered by the guns of Fort Alcatraz. General Wright, worried still, preferred to have an ironclad steamer instead of the sloop. However, the *Cyane* did arrive at an opportune time, for on March fifteenth she captured the Confederate privateer, *J. M. Chapman*, which had been outfitted by Asbury Harpending and Ridgley Greathouse for the purpose of intercepting California gold shipments.²⁴

A new wave of fear gripped San Francisco. The authorities renewed their efforts to improve harbor defenses, serious study being given to the erection of fortifications on Yerba Buena Island and Rincon Point, in order to protect the inner harbor. Colonel De Russy made another survey of defense sites. He proposed constructing a battery on Rincon Hill at the center of Harrison and Beale streets. He also recommended the installation there of another battery of twelve 32-pounders and a magazine, and planned to erect two batteries at the western end of Yerba Buena. The heavy guns on the island and on Rincon Hill were to afford a cross-fire, extending from the shore of the island to the city's shoreline and capable of commanding the bay anchorage.²⁵

On July 31, 1863, General Wright informed Captain Selfridge that he planned to build the batteries proposed by De Russy. These fortifications would supposedly protect the city if any hostile vessel succeeded in eluding the primary line of defense at the Golden Gate. Eighteen guns were to be placed on Yerba Buena and twelve guns on Rincon Hill. In his letter, Wright requested that Selfridge station an armed vessel in the harbor until the batteries were completed.²⁶

The next month the war department appropriated \$100,000 for the batteries.²⁷ On August fourteenth, Frederick F. Low, collector-of-the-port, Mayor Henry Perrin Coon, William Chapman Ralston, Frederick McLane, and five other prominent citizens sent a telegram to President Lincoln, expressing in the first sentence their gratitude for the appropriation. Then in the second sentence they stated: "We are exposed to a great danger, and it is criminal to neglect the means of defense."²⁸ The citizen committee requested that the steamer *Active* be purchased to serve as a signal and reconnaissance ship outside the harbor entrance, and that the steamship *Herman* be purchased for service both in and out of the entrance. The group stated that the steamers would cost \$115,000, and assured the President that the owners of the vessels were unaware of their intentions to make the purchase. Immediately the committee

wired Sen. John Conness of California: "An important dispatch has just been sent the President. Go to him and ask that our careful judgment in the premises be accepted and that the necessary orders be telegraphed."²⁹

However, money was not appropriated to purchase the vessels; and indecisions over where to erect the additional batteries delayed reaching the goal for an impregnable defense. Finally, it was decided to locate batteries on Point San Jose and Angel Island, instead of on Yerba Buena and Rincon Point. The new batteries were concentrated on Angel Island, but almost a year passed before they resembled completed fortifications.³⁰

On October 1, 1863, *H.M.S. Sutlej*, commanded by Rear-Admiral John Kingcome, stood into San Francisco, and a gun from the batteries of Fort Alcatraz fired a shot, which fell within 300 yards of the vessel.³¹ The *Daily Alta California* described the incident as follows:

The *Sutlej* is anchored off Saucelito. She entered the port on the north side, and on reaching Saucelito a blank cartridge was fired from Alcatraz, the *Sutlej* not complying with the port regulations. This was not respected, so a shot was fired across her bows, which went ricocheting over the water and dashing the spray on her. This was hint sufficient, and a salute of 21 guns was fired by her, which was received as a full acknowledgement.³²

Capt. William A. Winder explained his reasons to his superiors for firing on the British warship in the following manner. At the time, the U. S. revenue cutter *Shubrick*, which had been guarding the Golden Gate, set sail for Point Reyes to render assistance to the shipwrecked Russian corvette *Novick*.³³ In the absence of the *Shubrick*, Captain Winder assumed responsibility for ascertaining the identity of all ships entering the harbor. He observed the *Sutlej*, an armed ship, being towed by small boats towards Raccoon Straits. He believed it unusual for a ship to sail in that direction, and as he could not determine her nationality he fired a blank charge. Receiving no response, he fired an empty shell 200 to 300 yards ahead of the vessel. Then the warship fired the proper salute, and Captain Winder returned the recognition with the national salute of twenty-one guns.³⁴ However, Admiral Kingcome of the *Sutlej* did not accept the explanation as satisfactory. He complained that he had not been informed of the port regulations, and considered the incident a neglect of the usual courtesies extended to a foreign warship: his ship's neutral character could easily have been ascertained prior to the firing. Before Kingcome's complaint could be answered by Gen-

eral Wright, the *Sutlej* sailed from San Francisco on October eighth, and the military commander sent a communication to the disgruntled naval officer through the British consul.³⁵

Early in 1864, another of many rumors concerning privateers circulated in San Francisco. It was reported that the city would be bombarded by an "Anglo-Chinese fleet" of six vessels, sailing in consort with the dreaded raider C.S.S. *Alabama*. These ships supposedly were constructed in England for the Chinese emperor, but had been sold to the Confederacy.³⁶ About this time, the revenue cutter *Shubrick* was stationed near the Golden Gate, in order to aid Fort Point and Fort Alcatraz in guarding the harbor entrance. General Wright asked that a warship be placed outside the harbor for additional defense. However, the navy could not comply with such a request. The U.S.S. *Saranac*, commanded by Commodore Charles H. Poor, was but half-manned, and, when a crew became available, she was scheduled to sail for service elsewhere. The only other warship in San Francisco Bay was the U.S.S. *Narragansett*, but she was undergoing repairs at Mare Island.³⁷

Throughout the war the citizens and military leaders of San Francisco expressed their desire to have a warship for the exclusive use of harbor defense. As early as February 27, 1863, word was sent by the war department that the *Comanche* was being shipped to the Pacific coast for duty at San Francisco. This vessel was an ironclad monitor whose parts had been manufactured in the east and were to be assembled at Peter Donahue's Union Iron Works in San Francisco. The parts of the vessel were shipped around the Horn aboard the *Aquila*. On July 12, 1863, the contractors, Donahue, Ryan, and Secor, commenced the task of assembling the *Comanche*. The work progressed satisfactorily until a severe storm hit San Francisco on November fifteenth. Wharfs were blown down and ships in the bay dragged their anchors. Several vessels collided with one another, resulting in costly damage. The *Aquila*, as well as the parts for the *Comanche*, sank next to Hathaway's Wharf. San Franciscans were, indeed, disheartened, for the *Aquila* had weathered hurricanes and had eluded Confederate raiders in order to transport the long-sought monitor to their harbor. Attempts to raise the *Aquila* failed, but the parts of the monitor were salvaged. A year later, on November 14, 1864, the ironclad was finally launched in the presence of several thousand spectators. However, the vessel was never used for defense of San Francisco, and it remained at a Mare Island wharf until 1899.³⁸

Meanwhile, in July 1864, the batteries on Angel Island neared completion, but local authorities still felt that the harbor was not properly defended. This feeling of insecurity was revealed in a telegram, dated August fifth, written by Gen. Irvin McDowell, Wright's successor as commander of the department of the Pacific. He wired Gen. Richard Delafield, chief of the engineer corps, as follows:

I am struck by the fact that at this time, in this distant port and in the present unsettled and delicate state of our affairs, there are now lying English, French, and Russian men-of-war covering the shipping and town completely, and that we have not a single gun, either ashore or afloat, bearing or that can be brought to bear on them, to require them to leave should we wish them to go. I think we need earth batteries on Yerba Buena and at the foot of Rincon Hill to control the harbor should vessels pass the lower lines.³⁹

Delafield replied to McDowell that ordnance was not available for arming Yerba Buena and Rincon Hill. As a remedy he suggested a harbor regulation, requiring all foreign warships to anchor in designated areas where they could be within the firing range of existing fortifications, as was the custom in many European ports. Delafield concluded by stating that \$177,000 had been appropriated for perfecting the land defenses to the rear of Fort Point.⁴⁰

The goal of impregnable defenses for San Francisco was not reached during the Civil War. Funds were not readily appropriated to defend a port so distant from the actual scene of battle. Nevertheless the defense ring around the entrance to the Golden Gate was tightened by providing additional batteries at Fort Point and Fort Alcatraz, and, in the closing months of the war, the completion of the batteries on Angel Island afforded protection for the approaches to Mare Island navy yard. Actually, little danger from Confederate depredations existed on the Pacific coast; if an attack had been made on San Francisco, it would have been on a small scale, and probably could have been repelled with the existing defenses.

Even as federal troops marched victoriously into Richmond during the last days of the Confederacy, Adm. George F. Pearson, Bell's successor as commanding officer of the U. S. Pacific squadron, wrote to Secretary Welles, expressing disappointment that he had no warship to match a fast privateer, and requested "some fast destroyers."⁴¹ On May 17, 1865, Admiral Pearson acknowledged the navy department's general order concerning Lincoln's death, and wrote as follows in reply:

On the arrival of this ship (*U.S.S. Lancaster*) at San Francisco, I found that

city draped in mourning and all the flags at half-mast. On learning of the death of our late President I ordered twenty-one minute guns to be fired, with the colors half-masted, and have instructed the officers under my command to wear the usual badge of mourning for six months, as a manifestation of their respect for the exalted character, eminent position and inestimable public services of the late President.⁴²

The last occasion for alarm in San Francisco occurred when the whaleship *Milo* entered the harbor on July 20, 1865, with prisoners from the British-built raider, C.S.S. *Shenandoah*.⁴³ The *Daily Evening Bulletin* of the previous day correctly assumed that the *Shenandoah* had operated in the Arctic.⁴⁴ Despite the war's end, it was still believed that the raider would commit additional depredations, for she had captured already twenty-nine American whalers in the Pacific and Arctic. In fact, Capt. James Iredale Waddell of the *Shenandoah* planned to plunder the city. From the San Francisco newspapers, found on captured whalers, he was aware of the weak defenses of the city. Waddell realized that there was only one vessel guarding the harbor. He expected to ram it at night, and then command the city the next morning. However, Waddell first intended to communicate with a ship recently out from San Francisco before attempting the daring project.⁴⁵ On August second, the *Shenandoah* spoke the English bark *Barracouta* of Liverpool, thirteen days out of San Francisco. Waddell at last had definite news of the overthrow of the Confederate government, and decided to terminate hostilities and return to England.⁴⁶

Meanwhile, the shipping interests, underwriters, and merchants of San Francisco were anxious to capture the raider. For several months, warships of the Pacific squadron, spurred on by an editorial in the *Daily Alta California* of July 21, 1865, had scoured the ocean in a fruitless search for the Confederate ship. The editorial was entitled, "The Piracies of the Shenandoah," and the writer asked:

And why is it that we have no national vessels on this coast, fit and ready to go and chase down this pirate? What has become of the great American Navy, of which we have heard so much? Are the shores of the Pacific unworthy of protection? Does the Secretary of the Navy know that San Francisco is the third, if not the second seaport in the United States?

NOTES

1. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* [hereinafter called *Rebellion . . . Armies*] (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. I, p. 434.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 447-48.
3. James M. Hutchings, *Scenes of Wonder and Curiosity in California* (San Francisco, 1862), p. 17.
4. *Rebellion . . . Armies*, *op. cit.*, pp. 584-85.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 591-92.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 628.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 760.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 788-89.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 796-97.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 802.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 863-64.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 921.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 938.
14. "Letters Received from the Pacific Squadron," Dec. 14, 1861-Oct. 25, 1864, Act'g Rear-Adm. Charles H. Bell (microfilm, National Archives, Washington), Bell to Welles, April 4, 1862.
15. *Idem.*
16. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1862.
17. Benjamin F. Sands, *From Reefer to Rear-Admiral, Reminiscences and Journal Jottings of Nearly Half Century of Naval Life, 1827 to 1874* (New York, 1899), pp. 229-34.
18. Pacific Squadron Letters (as in note 14 above), Bell to Welles, April 25, 1862.
19. *Ibid.*, May 29, 1862.
20. *Idem.*
21. *Rebellion . . . Armies*, Ser. I, Vol. L, Pt. II, pp. 108-109.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 294-95.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 297.
24. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, D. C., 1894-1922), Ser. I, Vol. II, p. 95; *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 16 and 17, 1863; see also Benjamin F. Gilbert, "Kentucky Privateers in California," *Kentucky State Hist. Soc., Register*, XXXVIII (July 1940), pp. 256-66.
25. *Rebellion . . . Armies* (as in note 21 above), pp. 532-34.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 546-47.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 559-60.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 568.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 568-69.

30. *Alta California*, Oct. 2, 1863.
31. *Rebellion . . . Armies*, *ibid.*, p. 633.
32. *Alta California*, *idem*.
33. Benjamin F. Gilbert, "Welcome to the Czar's Fleet," Calif. Hist. Soc., QUARTERLY, XXVI (March 1947), 13-19.
34. *Rebellion . . . Armies*, *ibid.*, p. 640.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 650.
36. *Alta California*, Feb. 13, 1864.
37. *Rebellion . . . Armies*, *ibid.*, pp. 789-90.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 328; *San Francisco Directory* (Langley), 1864-65, pp. 12-20; *Alta California*, Nov. 17, 1863; Ruth Teiser, "The Charleston: an Industrial Milestone," Calif. Hist. Soc., QUARTERLY, XXV (March 1946), 41-42.
39. *Rebellion . . . Armies*, *ibid.*, pp. 929-30.
40. *Ibid.*, pp. 936-37.
41. Pacific Squadron Letters, *op. cit.*, Oct. 24, 1864-Dec. 31, 1865, Act'g Rear-Adm. George F. Pearson (microfilm, National Archives, Washington), Pearson to Welles, Feb. 27 and March 17, 1865.
42. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1865.
43. *Alta California*, July 21, 1865; "Log of Milo," June 23, 1865 (transcript), in letter dated Dec. 17, 1946, from William H. Tripp, owner of original logbook, to Benjamin F. Gilbert.
44. *Daily Evening Bulletin*, July 19, 1865.
45. "Confederate Documents," LI, Waddell Papers, No. 80, copy of Waddell's manuscript (microfilm, National Archives, Washington), p. 117. Waddell served aboard the *U.S.S. Saginaw* in San Francisco harbor for several months in 1859. See *San Francisco Chronicle*, Dec. 2, 1875.
46. "Log of C.S.S. *Shenandoah*" (Microfilm of original in possession of State Archives, North Carolina), Aug. 2, 1865.

Emerson and California

By JOHN Q. ANDERSON

THE FAR WEST was of great interest to Ralph Waldo Emerson (*b.*, 1803; *d.*, 1882), as is shown by the many references to California in his *Works* and *Journals*. He watched its development after the discovery of gold, and he was pleased to see that American democratic institutions were firmly established in such a short time. In fact, the stretching of the United States from the Atlantic to the Pacific seemed to Emerson to confirm a theory he had long entertained, the theory that America, midway between the occident and the orient, would become the meeting place of the virtues of both — without their faults.¹

California was the only western state to which Emerson paid a lengthy visit, though this came so late in his life that he left but a fragmentary record. Nevertheless his comments on the region, over the years, throw light not only on contemporary eastern attitudes toward it but on his own flexible philosophy, which permitted him to embrace, with ease, ideas that were foreign to most of his contemporaries.

The first reference to California in Emerson's *Journals* concerns Frémont's report of his explorations in 1846.² When the alluring descriptions of the west began to attract settlers, Emerson noted that, "The most real advantage of railroads, and now of California, to the people of New England will be the knowledge of geography which they diffuse." At the same time he commented, not without some prejudice, that many young New England farmers, inspired by the glowing accounts of the west, were leaving their flinty hills for the promised land. "If a man is going to California," remarked Emerson, "he announces it with some hesitation; because it is a confession that he has failed at home."³ As will be seen, this is not Emerson's characteristic attitude toward California immigrants.

Emerson's concept of California changed somewhat when gold was discovered there. He received the announcement of that remarkable discovery with more calmness than many of his contemporaries, for he believed that such events were virtually pre-determined in the sweep of

history. He said, ". . . when it was time to build a road across to the Pacific, a railroad, a shiproad, a telegraph, and in short, a perfect communication in every manner for all nations, — 'twas strange to see how it is secured. The good World-soul understands us well." The "World-soul," he implied, was ready for California to be settled:

Suddenly the Californian soil is spangled with a little gold-dust here and there in a mill-race in a mountain cleft; an Indian picks up a little, a farmer, and a hunter, and a soldier, each a little; the news flies here and there, to New York, to Maine, to London, and an army of a hundred thousand picked volunteers, the ablest and keenest and boldest that could be collected, instantly organize and embark for this desert, bringing tools, instruments, books, and framed houses, with them. Such a well-appointed colony as never was planted before arrive with the speed of sail and steam on these remote shores, bringing with them the necessity that the government shall instantly proceed to make the road which they themselves are all intimately engaged to assist.⁴

Although the "World-soul" approved of the ends, it did not approve of the means, so Emerson thought. He said in a lecture in 1851:

I do not think very respectfully of the designs or the doings of the people who went to California in 1849. It was a rush and a scramble of needy adventurers, and, in the western country, a general jail delivery of all the rowdies of the rivers. Some of them went with honest purpose, some with very bad ones, and all of them with the very commonplace wish to find a short way to wealth.⁵

Emerson was by no means, however, a Jeremiah who saw only evil; in fact, his theory of melioration made possible the evolution of good out of evil, and that is exactly what he saw in the gold rush of 1849. In the same lecture, he continued:

But nature watches over all, and turns this malfeasance to good. California gets peopled and subdued, civilized in this immoral way, and on this fiction a real prosperity is rooted and grown. 'T is a decoy-duck; 't is tubs thrown to amuse the whale; but real ducks, and whales that yield oil, are caught. And out of Sabine rapes, and out of robbers' forays, real Romes and their heroisms come in fulness of time.⁶

This long-range view of events (seeing the "reality" behind the "appearances," in Transcendental terminology) is characteristic of Emerson, and it enabled him to take a detached interest in the westward migration across the American continent. He said in another place:

In America the geography is sublime, but the men are not. . . . The agencies by which events so grand as the opening of California, of Texas, of Oregon, and the junction of the two oceans, are effected, are paltry, — coarse selfishness, fraud and conspiracy; and most of the great results of history are brought about by discreditable means.⁷

But the optimistic attitude growing directly out of the theory of melioration enabled Emerson to remain calm in his criticism of the temporary situation in California in 1849.

The quick riches that California gold offered to some were part of a golden illusion to others. Speaking of New England country boys enticed to the gold fields, Emerson notes that one of them "went to California, and stayed there a year, and has come back. He looks well, he has much improved in appearance, but he has not got a nine-pence."⁸ Emerson goes on to say that rural New Englanders, who once went on peddling-trips to Virginia in order "to see the world," now go to California. He tells about a "poor farmer" who "sold out his place and went to California; found no gold, and came back, and bought his land again." Discovering lead ore on his farm, the farmer "found California here."⁹ And finally, as if to show the irony of fate as well as the instability of material wealth, Emerson notes in his *Journals* in 1856 that "Sutter, the California discoverer of gold, is poor."¹⁰

Even those who became wealthy from the gold of California, Emerson warned, were possessors of "fool's gold" in the sense that gold leads men astray by causing them to place too great a value on material things; hence California gold had a corrupting influence. He quoted Thoreau as saying, it "is immoral to dig gold in California; immoral to leave creating value, and go to augmenting the representative of value, and so altering and diminishing real value, and, that, of course, the fraud will appear."¹¹ And ten years after the discovery of gold in California, Emerson wrote:

We all remember, in 1849, it was thought California would make gold so cheap that perhaps it would drive lead and zinc out of use for covering roofs and sink-spouts, but here we have had a Mississippi River of gold pouring in from California, Australia, and Oregon for ten years, and all has not yet displaced one pewter basin from our kitchens. . . .¹²

To show that material wealth is relative when compared to the creative genius of mankind, Emerson cited the example of the voice of Jenny Lind:

Of what use for one to go to California who has a fine talent that reaches men? All the contents of California, Canton, India, Turkey, France, England, will be offered and urged on this Swedish girl with a fine voice.

Jenny Lind need not go to California. California comes to her.¹³

Even though Emerson always placed spiritual above material values in his program for the development of the individual in America, he was acutely aware that the conquest of a continent, such as was taking place

in his time, demanded great physical effort, and that spiritual development could come only after man had provided for his physical needs, at least to a great extent. Emerson's great and lasting faith in the common man, combined with his theory of melioration, gave him confidence that man in America would develop to a standard higher than the world had ever seen, and that the democratic institutions of America would become a model for the remainder of the world. He saw California as an example of the American talent for bringing order out of chaos. In 1853 he noted in his *Journals*, "... they are all skilful in California . . . to erect a working government. . . ." ¹⁴ Then, in a speech in 1856, he said:

California, a few years ago, by the testimony of all people at that time in the country, had the best government that ever existed. Pans of gold lay drying outside of every man's tent, in perfect security. The land was measured into little strips of a few feet wide, all side by side. A bit of ground that your hand could cover was worth one or two hundred dollars, on the edge of your strip; and there was no dispute. Every man throughout the country was armed with knife and revolver, and it was known that instant justice would be administered to each offence, and perfect peace reigned. For the Saxon man, when he is well awake, is not a pirate but a citizen, all made of hooks and eyes, and links himself naturally to his brothers. . . . ¹⁵

Even though Emerson was aware that this was a somewhat idealized picture he was presenting, he believed that man's natural desire for order and decency enabled him to use the temporary measure of force to obtain them. In other words, the "general jail delivery of all the rowdies of the rivers," mentioned above, was the element of evil that would eventually be conquered by the potential good in the situation.

Emerson spent more than a month in California in 1871, seeing the natural wonders of the state and giving a few lectures. He was sixty-eight years old and "seemed worn and jaded by the strain of his Philosophy lectures" at Cambridge when he accepted, with some reluctance, the offer of John M. Forbes to be his guest on an excursion to California. ¹⁶ The party of twelve left Boston in a private railway car on April 11, 1871, ¹⁷ traveling by way of Omaha and Salt Lake City, ¹⁸ and arrived in San Francisco April twenty-third. The party made its headquarters at the Occidental Hotel, and invitations poured in for Emerson to lecture and to be the guest of prominent people. Dr. Horatio Stebbins, Unitarian minister, drove him around the city. Thayer said, "We passed through the Chinese quarter, and out over beautiful, grassy hills, covered with blue and yellow lupine and a hundred delightful flowers; and soon we, too, 'stared at the Pacific.' Mr. Emerson was delighted as we

drove along the beach of the great new ocean."¹⁹ Emerson read his address "Immortality" to Dr. Stebbins' congregation, and the *Alta California* "praised it warmly" the next day. Other lectures were given during the following week,²⁰ and there was a boat trip to Vallejo, and a rail excursion from there to Calistoga.

On May 2, 1871, the party started for Yosemite Valley, a journey which took "three days and a half; first, a forenoon eastward in the cars; then, still eastward, two days in large, four-horse, covered wagons, open at the sides; and then two long half-days on horseback."²¹ Discovering that the naturalist John Muir lived not far from one of their stops, Emerson insisted on visiting him. "The next morning," Thayer wrote, "Mr. Emerson asked my company on horseback for a visit to M. So he mounted on his pied mustang, and we rode over, and found M. at the saw-mill alone."²² The extremely sketchy notes Emerson left of his California trip show that he was so pre-occupied with the natural grandeur of the mountains that he probably was not aware of the picture which he, the philosopher of the Over-soul, made, astride a pied mustang. "In Yosemite," he wrote, "grandeur of these mountains [is] perhaps unmatched in the globe; for here they strip themselves like athletes for exhibition, and stand perpendicular granite walls, showing their entire height, and wearing a liberty cap of snow on their head."²³

On the visit to the giant redwoods, Emerson was requested to choose and name one of the great trees. He described this incident as follows:²⁴

At the request of Galen Clark, our host at Mariposa, and who is, by State appointment the protector of the trees, and who went with us to the Mammoth Groves, I selected a *Sequoia Gigantea*, near Galen's Hospice, in the presence of our party, and named it *Samoset*, in memory of the first Indian ally of the Plymouth Colony, and I gave Mr. Clark directions to procure a tin plate, and have the inscription painted thereon in the usual form of the named trees: and paid him its cost: —

Samoset.

12 May

1871

After thirteen days, Emerson and his party returned to San Francisco and spent four more days in that city before beginning the return trip. Emerson wished to see more of the sights of the city; especially was he "curious to see the theatre of the roughs" where the miners went. Accompanied by two men of the party, he went to such a place, but "all through the early hours of the evening," Thayer said, "the performance was flat and dreary; and he was tired out, and went home early." On

May seventeenth, Emerson gave a lecture on "Chivalry," and, on the next evening in Oakland, one on "Hospitality."²⁵

Fragmentary accounts of his impressions of California in the *Journals* and *Letters* show that Emerson regarded California as a land of youth and of the future. From Calistoga he wrote his wife, Lidian:

... if we were all young ... we might each of us claim his quarter-section of the Government, & plant grapes & oranges, & never come back to your east winds & cold summers, — only remembering to send home a few tickets ... to one or two or three pale natives of the Massachusetts Bay, & half-tickets to as many minors.²⁶

And on the way home, he wrote Lidian from Truckee:

Its immense prospective advantages only now beginning to be opened to mens [*sic*] eyes by the new Railroad are its nearness to Asia & S. America ... with this assured future in American hands ... Chicago & St. Louis are toys to it. ... I should think no young man would come back from it.²⁷

Evidently Emerson enjoyed very much the sightseeing, despite the physical effort demanded of an older man on such excursions as the Yosemite trip. Thayer said that the whole party was amazed at Emerson's vitality: "There was never a more agreeable travelling-companion; he was always accessible, cheerful, sympathetic, considerate, tolerant; and there was always that same respectful interest in those with whom he talked, even the humblest, which raised them in their own estimation."²⁸

In conclusion, it is evident that Emerson's attitude toward California went through several stages of development. At first, California was to him a romantic, far-away land. With the discovery of gold and the subsequent rush of people to the state, it became the symbol of the growing materialism of the age; at the same time, however, the state showed that American democratic institutions could quickly bring order out of chaos. In still another aspect, the gold of California was a magnet that pulled civilization westward to the Pacific Ocean and rapidly completed the conquest of the continent, thereby insuring a greater future for the nation. Lastly, in seeing California twenty years after the turbulence of the gold rush, Emerson could relax and enjoy the grandeur of nature, assured that, according to his theory of melioration, good had come of evil. He wrote after this visit:

California is teaching in its history and its poetry the good of evil, and confirming my thought, one day in Five Points in New York, twenty years ago, that the ruffians and Amazons in that district are only superficially such, but carried

underneath this bronze about the same morals as their civil and well-dressed neighbors.²⁹

NOTES

1. F. I. Carpenter, *Emerson and Asia* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 27 ff, points out that Emerson first found the fundamental distinction between Asia, as the country of unity, and Europe, as the country of variety, in Victor Cousin's *Introduction to the History of Philosophy* (1st ed., in French, 1827). Attracted by the contrast, Emerson liked to generalize about the difference between orient and occident, east and west, and to make the contrast symbolic of the dualism of the mind.

2. *The Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (Boston, 1909-14), VII, 206: "The stout Frémont . . . is continually remarking on 'the group,' on 'the picture,' etc., 'which we make.' Our secondary feeling, our passion for seeming, must be highly inflamed, if the terrors of famine and thirst . . . could not repress this eternal vanity of *how we must look!*"

3. *Journals*, VIII, 4.

4. *Ibid.*, VIII, 7-8.

5. *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, ed. by Edward Waldo Emerson (Boston, 1903-04; Centenary Edition), VI, 255.

6. *Ibid.*, VI, 255-56.

7. *Ibid.*, VI, 256.

8. *Journals*, VIII, 175.

9. *Ibid.*, IX, 5-6.

10. *Ibid.*, IX, 5.

11. *Ibid.*, VIII, 467.

12. *Ibid.*, IX, 226.

13. *Ibid.*, VIII, 129. It will be remembered that, although successive early theaters in San Francisco bore her name, Jenny Lind never visited California.

14. *Ibid.*, VIII, 420.

15. *Works*, XI, 262.

16. *Journals*, X, 351-52, editors' note. The lectures Emerson gave at Harvard University the year before (1870) bore the general title, "The Natural History of the Intellect."

17. The summary of Emerson's California trip here given was taken from James B. Thayer's *A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson* (Boston, 1884), *passim*. See also Ralph L. Rusk, *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1949), pp. 446-48; and *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (New York, 1939), VI, 148-59.

18. The train stopped overnight in Salt Lake City, and seven members of the party, including Emerson, attended a local theater to see "Marriage by Moonlight; or, the Wild-Cat's Revenge." The next day most of the men of the party called on Brigham Young, who gave no sign of "knowing who Mr. Emerson was."

19. Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 47. See also Emerson's letter to his grandson, Ralph Emerson Forbes, in *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (as in note 17 above), VI, 159.
20. Thayer, *op. cit.*, p. 52.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
23. *Journals*, X, 354.
24. *Idem.*
25. William H. Davis, "Emerson the Lecturer in California," California Historical Society, QUARTERLY, XX (March 1941), 1-11, gives a full account of the six lectures Emerson gave in San Francisco and Oakland, and shows, by numerous quotations, the response of public and press.
26. *The Letters of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, *op. cit.*, VI, 152.
27. *Ibid.*, VI, 158.
28. Thayer, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97.
29. *Journals*, X, 355.

Dr. John S. Griffin's Mail, 1846-53

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes

By VIOLA LOCKHART WARREN

(Continued)

PART II

LOS ANGELES GARRISON, May 1847 to May 1849

Dr. John S. Griffin closed the San Diego army hospital on May 12, 1847, after an all-night vigil with a dying patient, and rode at break-neck speed to the Los Angeles hospital to relieve Dr. George B. Sanderson. Sanderson had been ordered to Monterey to join the overland escort of Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny and Col. John Charles Frémont.

23. The United States to Dolores Sepulveda Dr,
To rent of one house as Quarters for Capt. A. J. Smith, 1st Regt Dragoons, and
Asst. Surgeon John S. Griffin U. S. Army, for one month from the 17th June 1847
to the 17th July 1847, at eighteen dollars per month.

We certify that the above account is correct and just and that we have occupied the house as charged.

Received of J. W. Davidson Lieut 1st Dragoons and Actg. Asst. Quarter Master,
eighteen dollars in full of above account.

According to army regulations, an assistant surgeon could quarter with a captain only if he had completed five years of service;³⁰ this Dr. Griffin had done, and so the old friends could legitimately share the same adobe. The house of Dolores Sepúlveda was probably one of an adobe row on Sanchez Street, south of the plaza.

The army was meticulous about paying for goods and services provided by the conquered people of Los Angeles. After a bitter argument between Antonio María Lugo, Eulogio Celis, and Isaac Williams, as to the ownership of the buildings and grounds between Main and Los Angeles streets and from Commercial Street north to include the future Bella Union Hotel (property which was used for army headquarters and hospital), the U. S. army finally paid the rent to Isaac Williams.³¹ Lugo had given himself as security that the Mexican government would

pay \$5000 for this property,³² which Gov. Pio Pico had also used as headquarters, but the bill was never paid.

24. Letter from Dr. Alexander Perry
Sir

Santa Barbara

to Griffin, Los Angeles
June 8th, 1847

Your letter of the 2nd was duly received. Enclosed you have a small number of blank returns &c. Had I have known that you were in need of them a week sooner, I could have supplied you more liberally. The greater portion of those I brought out with me have been sent to Monterey and San Francisco.

If I am ordered to Lower California, I fear I shall be obliged to take my works on Surgery with me as references. If not, I will be happy to loan them to you.

Yours respectfully,
Alex. Perry

Dr. Alexander Perry came as a volunteer with Col. Jonathan D. Stevenson's New York regiment, arriving in Monterey on March 6, 1847. He was stationed in Santa Barbara from April until July, and then ordered to Lower California with Companies A and B under command of Col. Henry Stanton Burton. Throughout the hard campaign to establish occupancy of the peninsula, Dr. Perry served with great distinction, both as surgeon and as juez de romera justancia in the civil court.³³ He was honorably discharged on October 1, 1848, and returned to private life in New York City.

25. Quarterly report of the Sick and Wounded at el Pueblo de los Angeles, California for the quarter ending June 30, 1847.

Remarks

The garrison at this post consists of C Company 1st Dragoons, A, C, D, and E Companies Mormon Battalion, E and G Companies 7th N.Y. Vols. Cos E and G N.Y. Vols arrived at this post May 9 1847. El Pueblo de los Angeles is a town of almost 2000 persons in Lat. 34° 7' N, Long 118° 9' W, situated on a small stream, five leagues from the sea coast. To the east of the town at the distance of two leagues and a half, is a high range of mountains, the high lands extending to the town from the S.E. & N.E. To the west is an extensive plain which extends far to the north and south and to the sea coast; immediately in the vicinity are many fine yards and gardens cultivated entirely by irrigation. On the hills and plains in the vicinity of the town there is no timber. The soil is sandy, dry and sterile. Rain seldom or never falls except in the very early spring. The houses are built of adobes, badly ventilated and extremely filthy. During the months of May and June, an epidemic catarrh prevailed to a great extent in this community. Many of the people of the country had it and several of them died. No lives were lost among the troops here although many of them had the disease severely. The greater portion of the troops have been in tents during the time I have been serving at this place.

I arrived at this place from San Diego and took charge of the hospital May 16, 1847. Private Eli B. Forbes, Company E, 7th Regt. N.Y. Vols Deserted May 22.

John S. Griffin
Asst Surgeon U.S.A.

The Los Angeles hospital must have kept Dr. Griffin blissfully busy. There were over 600 soldiers at the post and 231 of them were sick at some time during the quarter. The various fevers accounted for fifty-two, catarrh for thirty-six, wounds and injuries for twenty-four, diarrhea for twenty, venereal diseases for sixteen, and "all other diseases" for the balance. Fifty-seven were still on the sick list on June thirtieth. It is amusing to note sixteen cases of "feigned illness" among the young and unruly volunteers of Stevenson's regiment.

On May 13, 1847, Dr. Sanderson had certified to army discharges for three victims of the San Pascual lances. The elbow joints of two were ankylosed, and the head of one was drawn down to the side from a neck wound.

26. Letter from Lt. S. C. Rowan, to Griffin, Los Angeles,
U. S. Ship Warren, Monterey July 28th, 1847

Dear Griffin

Your note of the 2nd inst came to hand this morning and sorry am I that it did not reach me in due time. It was addressed to me in the Congress and presume it followed her to San Francisco before the mistake was discovered.

I am glad you find the Pueblo somewhat to your liking and have no doubt the Society of Los Pueblanas will in some measure reconcile you to a longer residence in California. War you have tasted of — Women and Wine are still left you. Apropos of War, I would give you a detailed account of our brilliant successes in Mexico were I not certain that you have had it some days since.

The Lexington left yesterday for La Paz touching at Santa Barbara for Col. Burton and his command. I congratulate you that you are not one of his party. You would find it a shade worse than San Diego.

The Independence anchored this morning and brings the latest news from the Seat of War. I have extracted that portion of it that will most likely interest you.

The Dale will leave for home in the early part of next month and the Portsmouth will follow her.

Any letters you may wish to send or any other Commission you may have will meet with present attention from your old mess mate.

Rowan

Go as high as 15 or 20\$ to recover my pistol if it has not been injured

S. C. R.

The Congress is now in San Francisco. Fighting Bob leaves overland on the 1st prox. I shall give your message to the officers when we meet.

Seldon is here. "Julia" condemned and will be sold.

We see a good deal of the Artillery people, they are clever fellows.

Happy to hear from at *all times*.

Lieut. Stephen C. Rowan, formerly of the *Cyane*, had served as major in Commodore Stockton's forces on the march from San Diego to Los Angeles in January 1847, and was slightly wounded in the battle of the Mesa. It was probably here that he lost his pistol to the enemy. He remained in the service, becoming commodore in 1862 and vice-admiral in 1870.

"Fighting Bob" was Commodore Robert F. Stockton.

Edward A. Seldon was acting lieutenant in command of the 133-ton schooner *Julia*, captured at La Paz by the *Cyane* on October 22, 1846.³⁴ It was sold at auction on September 18, 1847, for \$4,850, put under the Hawaiian flag as the *Julia Ann* and consigned to the China trade.

The artillery people were the regular soldiers of the 3rd U. S. artillery, 113 men who had arrived at Monterey by sea on January 28, 1847.

27. Letter from Dr. Rob Murray,
Sir Monterey, Calif.

to Griffin, Los Angeles,
August 17, 1847.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, the one requesting to be furnished with some medicines, and the other acknowledging the receipt of blanks which I transmitted to you. Herewith I send you an Invoice of Medicines sent by the Thos. H. Benton with some public books &c. The receipt for the Medicines which went down by Col Stevenson's detach. has not yet been received. You would oblige me by sending me another when you receive these supplies.

We have lately had a good deal of fever at this Post, some of it of very severe & intractable character, both Typhoid and Remittent fever are prevalent. This morning we lost Lt. C. J. Minor of the Artillery. He was sick a month and until the last five days I was but little alarmed about him. At the time he was taken sick I was absent on a scout with some of the Companies of volunteers & found on my return that he had been sick some ten days. He was apparently convalescent but imperfectly so, free from fever but with no appetite & a little uneasiness & oppression about his chest — dry cups seemed to relieve this and he improved a little but in a few days slight fever came on every morning and he had inflamed parotid glands — these were soon relieved but in spite of quinine and other tonics with blisters, &c, his fever came on every day, intense congestion came on in the chest & toward the last in the brain and he died. He had malignant remittent fever no doubt but it certainly is of a different type from any I have seen. Quinine seemed to have a bad effect on him. It gave him oppression about the chest with nervous & hard rales and had no effect on his attacks of congestion & fever.

I lost a man last week, but his was a pure typhoid fever — the glands of Peyer were much ulcerated and he had all the signs both living & post mortem of typhoid fever.

In some cases here Quinine has the usual effect. Poor Minor had been troubled with slight Bronchitis for a good while and from constant exposure to the damp and chilly atmosphere in tents he had lost a good deal of his powers of resistance to the effects of disease. The sickness has been almost confined to the regular troops. They are encamped on the hill which overlooks the town on the N. W. They are in tents and exposed to great changes of temperature. The nights were exceedingly damp and chilly and the men were in the habit of going to work in the morning a couple of hours before breakfast in a heavy fog which always prevails early in the morning. They are about to go into barracks and are now allowed a cup of coffee before work, which I trust may lessen the sickness.

I shall be glad to hear from you in regard to the fever which you have at the Pueblo. I shall watch the disease here closely and endeavor to find some treatment better adapted to it than that I have used. The Pyrexia is not very high in the cases I have had.

I am about to lose a man with tetanus — he cut his toe slightly and from lying in the damp has the disease.

Yours very truly

Rob Murray Asst Surg USA

As you are scarce of books I take the liberty of sending you Carpenters Physiology of which both Dr. Ord & myself have copies. You will find also some papers in the box from Thompson, Mexico.

Truly yours R. M.

To fill up the box I have put in a couple of thin coats for Lt. Bonnycastle. Will you deliver them to him.

Dr. Rob Murray, one of the most popular men in the California service, came with the New York volunteers in March 1847. Four months later he was inducted into the regular army and served as assistant surgeon with the 3rd U. S. artillery in Monterey. He remained in army service and became surgeon general in 1883.

A young man of only twenty-three, Lieut. Colville J. Minor was much beloved by his fellow officers and by the citizens of Monterey. Thomas C. Lancey, who attended the funeral with a number of seamen from the *Dale*, says that Minor died of a malignant disease brought in the flagship *Columbus* from Manila and that nine privates also died of the disease.³⁵ Dr. Murray suspects that his diagnosis of malaria was incorrect, but in this case, as in the case of tetanus, he puts the chief blame on the damp climate rather than on specific infection.

Lieut. J. C. Bonnycastle came with the New York volunteers as

assistant quartermaster. He entered the regular army in 1848 and remained in the service until 1861.

28. Proceedings of a Military Commission convened at the Ciudad de los Angeles California by virtue of the following orders, viz,

Order No 58 Headquarters 10 Mily Dept
Monterey, California Sept 6, 1847

A Military Commission to be composed of seven members, will assemble at the Ciudad de los Angeles, California on Monday 20th of September 1847 – or as soon thereafter as practicable for the trial of private John Smith of Company “C” 1st Dragoons, and such other prisoners as may come properly before it.

Detail for the Court

Capt A. J. Smith	1st Dragoons
Capt M. R. Stevenson	7th N.Y. Vols.
“ Nelson Taylor	“
1st Lt E. Williams	“
2nd Lt Wm C. Cutrell	“
“ J. M. H. Hollingsworth	“
“ T. L. Vermule	“

Asst Surgeon J. S. Griffin, U.S. Army, is appointed the Judge Advocate of the Commission.

Should any of the officers mentioned in the detail be prevented from attending at the time and place mentioned, the Commission will nevertheless proceed to, and continue the business before it provided the number of members present be not less than the minimum prescribed by law for a General Court Martial, the above being the greatest number that can be assembled without manifest injury to the service.

By order of Col. R. B. Mason
W. T. Sherman 1st Lt 3d Artillery, A.A.A. Genl

Ciudad de los Angeles Ca
Monday, Sept. 20th, 1847

The court met pursuant to the above order, present . . . [complete Detail], Asst. Surgeon J. S. Griffin Judge Advocate, and was organized and ready to proceed to business, when the Judge Advocate, in his official capacity as Asst. Surgeon of the post, stated to the Commission that private John Smith of Co "C" 1st Dragoons, the prisoner ordered to be tried, was in the Hospital at this post and could not appear before the Commission for the following reasons; Prvt John Smith of Co C 1st Dragoons, a prisoner ordered to be brought before the Military Commission about to convene at this post is unable to walk or be transported to the place of meeting of the Commission in consequence of having shot himself. About the 20th of August last, in an attempt to commit suicide he shot himself in

the left breast with a pistol, the ball coursing along the rib. The Commission then adjourned to meet at 9 o'clock A. M. tomorrow at the Hospital.

Ciudad de los Angeles, Ca

Tuesday 9 A.M. 21st Sept, 1847

The Commission met pursuant to adjournment. [Six members present] Capt. Nelson Taylor 7th N.Y. Vols being absent from sickness The Commission adjourned to meet tomorrow at this place at 9 A.M.

In the last entry of his diary,³⁶ August 14, 1847, Dr. Griffin speaks of a number of crimes in the pueblo, and resents the fact that the alcalde suspects the dragoons. Yet, on or about August third, two dragoon privates had stolen \$675 from the strong box in the quarters of Lieutenant Stoneman and Lieutenant Davidson; and Peter Biggs, negro slave of Captain Smith, was caught in petty thievery. Peter Biggs,³⁷ who remained in Los Angeles for many years as barber and blood-letter, was probably lashed by his master, but the two privates were arrested on August twentieth. John Smith promptly put himself in the hospital with a self-inflicted gunshot wound, so serious as to leave him still incapacitated a month later.

The doctor's hospital load was already heavy, and the care of this new patient might, in itself, have been enough to prevent him from continuing his diary. Then, on September 6, 1847, had come his assignment as judge advocate of the military commission to try the soldiers. The commission met repeatedly, and finally (Oct. 9, 1847) reached a verdict on John Smith; but without law books at hand Dr. Griffin was uneasy about procedure. On October fifth he wrote to Lieut. W. T. Sherman for advice.

Lieutenant Sherman's reply on October twentieth³⁸ described the military commission as a new institution, created by Gen. H. L. Scott by order of Col. R. B. Mason in Tampico on February 19, 1847. "In awarding sentence," the letter explained, "the Commission is not required to follow the statutes of any one state but is merely required not to exceed in severity the punishment for like cases in any one of the States of the U.S.A. . . . it seems the commission at L. A. has governed its proceedings by the statutes of New York [since six members of the commission came from New York] and awarded to private John Smith, 1st dragoon, a sentence of imprisonment in a state prison, when strictly speaking there is not such a thing within thousands of miles."

Lieutenant Sherman returned the case for reconsideration and suggested a sentence of confinement for a period not exceeding five years,

leaving the revenue officer to select the place. Since there was a good calaboose in Monterey, Smith was probably conveyed there in irons.

In the case of Private Stokely, also, the proceedings were remitted to the commission, because Lieutenant Sherman, in reviewing the verdict, found that "not guilty" was contrary to the evidence. On November 29, 1847, he sent Dr. Griffin four longhand pages of legal definition of principles and accessories, copied from *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Chitty's New York edition of 1832, Bk. 4, pp. 23, 24.³⁹

Sherman's copy of *Blackstone* may have been the only one in California at the time, because Mexican lawyers did not use *Blackstone*. Spanish law is radically different in its concepts from English common law.

Before the commission had time to reconvene on the Stokely case, a tragic event at the guardhouse made their deliberations unnecessary.

29. On the night of the 8th of Dec. [about one A. M., Dec. 9] the Magazine at the Guard House accidentally exploded; the quantity of powder in the magazine was about 36 cannon cartridges. Privt. Andrews of G Company 1st N. York Volunteers was instantly killed, having been blown some 30 steps. He was burnt to a cinder — No examination made of his body,

Privt. Logan, E Company, 1st N.Y. Volunteers, died at 2 P.M. having lived about one hour after the explosion took place; his face and person and clothing extensively burnt. Post Mortem examination empyema on the right side — the blood oozing from mouth and nostrils — extensive contusions about neck and chest — upon opening the chest, on the left side the lungs adhering extensively to the pleura costalis — the lung rupturing — from the quantity of blood — right side all the ribs from the 2d to the sixth broken near the angle and driven in upon the lung, rupturing it extensively — about one pint of blood contained in the pericardium.

Pvt. John Stokely Company C 1st Dragoons died at 3 A.M. — there was no symptom particularly noticed except difficulty of breathing, deadly palor and being unable to urinate. He was a prisoner in the guard house. Post mortem on the morning of the 10th. The External appearances of injury were trifling — a little powder burnt on the back, and the marks where the irons had apparently bruised his feet and ankles — blood was found running from his mouth, extensive contusions about the neck and chest, the clavicle broken, the lung presenting the appearance of a clot of blood. The right lung adhering to the pleura costalis and tearing upon the slightest effort to break up the adhesions — this man was crushed by the building falling on him and had to be dug out.

Sergt. Travers, Company G 1st N.Y. Vols. The whole cutes on this man was burnt off — his eyes completely closed up with the powder and a splinter driven

into the right eye fully an inch long, as in fact they were stuck all through his face and person, being pieces of the Ammunition box. Burnt to a cinder, his clothing had caught on fire and several places burnt very badly, one under his right arm fully nine inches in diameter and one inch deep. The hasp of the ammunition box had been driven into the right leg about an inch above the ankle joint and ranging upward and inwards, completely severed both bones of the leg, fracturing the bones in every direction. The leg was also severely scorched from the clothing having taken fire. The piece of iron was found lodged in the leg. But little hemorrhage had taken place, he complained much of pain both of the burns and the fracture. The burns were immediately dressed, with aqua calcis and ol olivae which gave relief — he was much depressed, but perfectly collected. Stimulants were ordered and about 6 A.M. on the morning of the ninth, reaction having partially taken place, amputation was performed on the thigh some 4 inches above the knee. He bore the operation well and expressed himself much relieved after the operation. He lost but little blood and that vein — the femoral artery was immediately secured, and another small branch. The smaller arteries would not bleed, though every effort was made with warm water, wine and water &c to stimulate him sufficiently to cause reaction. The stump was finally dressed and during the day he never recovered from the depression — he was restless complaining constantly of his back, and died at 3 P.M. on the evening of the 9th. He was much bruised about the neck and chest, stomach and back. He died in great agony complaining entirely of pain in the back.

Copl Lawey, E Company, severely burnt in face and eyes — and fracture of jaw
Copl Boyers, Copl E Company 1st N.Y. Vols, severely burnt in face, hands, and ankle of right foot sprained

Prvt. Milhan, Company E, face and hands severely burnt

Prvt. McGill, Co. E, Volunteers, face, hand severely burnt, concussion cerebri — deranged for several hours after explosion. Flighty occasionally at present, Dec.

12

Prvt. Guy, Co E Volunteers, concussion cerebri — severe wound of the scalp and slightly burnt

Prvt. Hart, G — slight burn of hand

Prvt Welch G, slight burn of hands and contusion back of head, severe

Prvt. Whalen E Volunteers, severe burn of face and eyes

Prvt. Pierce, Co. C Dragoons — burn of eyes & face

Prvt. Green Co C Dragoons, burn of hands and contusion

A nervous soldier, standing guard on Fort Moore Hill, had mistaken a stray cow for an enemy, and had fired his musket. The guard detail opened the powder magazine and manned the battery, but a spark from a post fire fell into the open magazine and the ammunition exploded.⁴⁰

Now it no longer mattered that the verdict on John Stokely was incorrect. John Stokely was dead. And it no longer mattered that the

doctor's diary was neglected. He had more important records to keep, with four men dead and ten injured from the explosion and with twenty-one other patients, including four officers, in the hospital. Lieutenant Stoneman was so ill that Dr. Griffin felt obliged to arrange a sea voyage to help him regain his health.⁴¹

Also, a stern warning had come for the second time from the surgeon general's office that quarterly reports *must* be in on time, and that volunteers must be reported separately from regular troops. In the midst of the turmoil, the doctor managed to prepare a full report for September and a skeleton report for December, but he made no more entries in the diary which he had begun at Santa Fe on September 26, 1846.

30. Quarterly Report of Sick and Wounded at El Pueblo de los Angeles, California, for the quarter ending September thirtieth, 1847

Volunteers

Remarks: . . . the worst forms of fever, the cases of diarrhoea and dysentery were confined almost entirely to the New York Volunteers, every man of the Mormon Battalion being able to leave the Hospital on the day of their disbandment, with the exception of two, but they were confined one from an injury and the other from syphilis. The cases of Remittent, Intermittent and Typhoid fevers have been severe and recovery very slow. I have not observed any eruption in the cases of Typhus. I am not able to assign any cause for these fevers except it be change of climate, diet and mode of life. The inhabitants of the country are not so healthy as has been represented. Fevers both Intermittent and high grades of Remittent are common. I have also seen several cases of typhoid fever. (Judging from the number of funerals, the mortality for the last three months has been greater in proportion among the people of the country than among the American population.)

Regular troops

Remarks: . . . The cases of fever reported . . . have been extremely unyielding. The continued fevers particularly so — the attack is not sudden or violent but usually commences with a diarrhoea — the discharge being thin and watery, sometimes yellow, sometimes black or brown — tongue coated or extremely red and smooth, and when protruded, tremulous, the pulse not strong but rapid — skin not above the natural temperature — in a few days the symptoms become worse, the tongue black, chapped, sordes around the teeth, delirium, nervous twitchings, picking at the bed clothes, position on back, usually with legs drawn up; the diarrhoea continues through the whole course of the disease, when checked by opiates or astringents — the cerebral symptoms become aggravated. Quinine does not have as good an effect on fevers in this country as in the United States, it seems to aggravate the gastro-enteric affections, with which all fevers seem to be complicated in this country. Small doses of calomel with sufficient opium to prevent its purging, cupping and mucilaginous drinks with an

occasional enema, I have found to be the best practise both in the Remittent and continued forms of fever.

John S. Griffin
Asst. Surg., USA

During this quarter, five patients died of typhoid fever, two of them being prisoners from the guardhouse. Dr. Griffin was convinced that the two strong young men in confinement would not have died if they had not been depressed by their situation. He did not suspect that the guardhouse well was too close to the privy, or that the servant who brought the food might be a typhoid carrier.

31. Letter from Dr. Rob Murray to Griffin, Los Angeles
Monterey, Calif. January 6, 1847 [1848]
Doctor,

Your letters, the first enclosing a requisition for Medicines, Stores &c and asking for information in regard to the source from which supplies are to be received, & the last making additions to the requisition & requesting me to send back a letter addressed by you to the Surg. Genl have been received. One or two Store Ships are daily expected here, with troops and extra Stores for the Army. There will no doubt be a supply for the troops on board of Medical Stores and as these vessels were to sail within a month or two of a year after the Command of Col Stevenson left New York it is fair to suppose that the Medical Purveyor will send a years supply for the whole of the troops in this Country. Most of them I presume will be sent to you, as you will have, when Capt. Shannon's Company goes down which it will in a day or two, by far the larger share of troops. I am now able to send you nearly all the articles which you have required, some in rather less quantities. I regret that considerable delay has occurred. I was at Santa Cruz when the letter was received, and since then no opportunity has offered of sending down the coast. In a few days the Quartermaster will send Capt. Shannon's Company (I) down and with them the Medical Supplies shall be forwarded.

I send enclosed the letter to the Surgeon General as you requested.

There is now but little sickness here, the Cases of fever brought from the San Joaquin Valley are the only really sick men I have. This fever is Intermittent and Remittent and by no means so dangerous as the Typhoid fever of the Coast.

I have the honor to remain respy your obedt svt

Rob Murray Asst. Surg. U.S.A.

I wish I could be down with you to aid you in your arduous labours. Bonnycastle writes me word you have your hands full & indeed I can readily believe that with four or five companies & the whole town on your hands you have enough to do. I have an asst. here, Dr. Ord, a citizen physician. He is brother of Lt. Ord & of course would rather stay here. It is not my business I suppose to tell Col Mason

that one Doctor is enough as he manages everything his own way & does not ask any one's advice. If you want help however, you had better apply and one of us will probably be sent. I should like of all things to go down and may yet get a leave and come down for a week or two to help you. I feel mean here doing nothing when so much is doing in Mexico and everywhere else. There is but little sickness here even among the Citizens. Catarrh and Rheumatism are all the complaints now.

You must take care of Bonnycastle & Hollingsworth and not allow them to throw themselves away on the yellow girls of this Country. I cannot imagine any that would answer to carry to the United States. From all accounts they are both pretty far gone.

I am sorry that I should have sent Morehead to bother you when you had so much else to do. His tendency to Bronchitis when his system was so much below par from Dyspepsia made me fear Consumption in this damp and changeable place. I thought your climate would suit him better.

Very truly Yours
R. Murray

Dr. Murray made the very human mistake of dating this January letter with the old year instead of the new, but the content places it unquestionably in 1848.

Capt. William E. Shannon commanded Co. I of the New York volunteers, on their way to garrison San Diego. He practiced law in Sacramento after the war and died there of the cholera in 1850.

The letter to the surgeon general, which Dr. Griffin asked to have returned to him before delivery, was on the sensitive subject of a leave of absence, and the doctor wished to reinforce his appeal with an account of the exhausting events of December. The leave was not granted, because the surgeon general had previously written an order for the doctor to return home, but the adjutant general in Washington had not seen fit to forward the order to Colonel Mason in California. Disputes between the two generals continued for years to victimize the California surgeons.⁴²

Dr. James L. Ord came to Monterey under contract with the 3rd U. S. artillery, in which his brother, E. O. C. Ord, was an officer. He started private practice in Santa Barbara in 1848, married the popular Monterey widow, Doña Angustias Jimeno,⁴³ served for a time as U. S. consul to Mexico, but returned to the army medical service at San Francisco in the 1870's.

Lieut. John McHenry Hollingsworth's journal of his California experiences concludes with the statement that he was chosen, from among

the delegates to the 1849 state constitutional convention, to carry the newly adopted constitution to Washington. Lieutenants Hollingsworth and Bonnycastle were both enamored of Isadora Bandini.

32. Letter from Dr. Rob Murray
Monterey, Calif.

to Griffin, Los Angeles,
Mch 3, 1848

Doctor,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter pr last Mail enclosing receipts for the medicines &c forward to you pr Ship Charles.

The Transport Ships Isabella & Sweden have arrived, having on board in all about one hundred and ninety men. The Lady Adams takes down some seventy recruits to your Post. She has on board under charge of the Hosp Steward who came out in the Sweden some Medicines which were put on board that vessel for the use of the Detachment on their way out. They of course will be turned over to you. The Isabella brings out an Invoice of Medicines addressed to the Surgeon of this Post. I send you the Surg. Genls letter in relation to these stores it is addressed to you or myself — I have kept a copy of it — I also send a copy of the Invoice of Medicines that you may send for what you wish.

The Isabella takes down about 170 men to reinforce Col Burton in Lower California. This leaves us but the Company of Artillery to garrison this place.

I have sent to Surg. Perry one third of the Medicines which are contained in the Invoice which I send you a copy of.

I enclose some blank returns &c & remain

Very respfy yours &c

Rob Murray Asst. Surg. U.S.A.

Your officers get so many papers by these vessels that we suppose they will be quite a drug and do not send any additional ones. I have recd some late medical journals which I will send by the next opportunity. My eyes have been quite inflamed and I am obliged to read very little at a time or I should have finished them in time to send by this vessel. . . . In May last there was an examination for the regular service and 14 passed — of these all have received appointment & another examination ordered for October. There must have been a larger increase. I am sorry that there is not a larger increase in the full Surgeons. There are many of the Asst. Surgns at the top of the list whose long services entitle them to more rank. . . .

I had last evening a letter from Dr. Ord — he is tolerably pleased with Santa Barbara but does not find so much interesting professional work as in the Pueblo de los Angeles. He writes me of some of your operations there. I should be delighted to assist you in them. Here some how or other surgery is very scarce. All the old cases which were hanging on before our taking possession were used up by the navy surgeons.

The Government has sent out these two vessels, each with some 100 souls with-

out surgeons. Enlisted men acting as Stewards have been the Doctors — the men have come out in pretty good health but the medicines &c have been badly cared for — Osborn who goes down to you is I believe a steady man & a regular graduate — but he is careless.

The man who came in the *Isabella* is one of those Germans of great pretensions and not to be depended on — He was acting as Hospt Steward & insisted on being considered acting Surgeon. He gave vinegar & water for everything.

Very truly Yours &c Rob Murray

The *Isabella* and the *Sweden* brought the last of Stevenson's 900 volunteers. Dr. William B. Osborn, who came with them, remained in Los Angeles until his death in 1867.⁴⁴ He was a cocky little man, always a colorful character. In 1850 he organized a so-called "Medical Faculty of Los Angeles," to control the size of medical fees. He was horticulturist, auctioneer, politician, served as first postmaster, dug the first artesian well, and took the first daguerreotype in Los Angeles. His actions were often criticized by his contemporaries, because he was sometimes careless about morals as well as about medicines.

Dr. Murray's "late medical journals" could have been copies of *The American Journal of the Medical Sciences*, *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal* [now *The New England Journal of Medicine*], and *The Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery*. In 1848 these journals were unsurpassed in their field, and they are notable publications today.⁴⁵

Under acts of congress in February and March 1847, the number of major surgeons was increased from twenty to twenty-two, and assistant surgeons from fifty to sixty-two.⁴⁶

33. Letter from Lt. Langdon C. Easton, to Major Thomas Swords, Washington
Dear Major: Fort Leavenworth March 10, 1848

I had the pleasure a few days since to receive your letter of the 16th ultimo and agreeable to your request have got together everything that I can find belonging to Dr. Griffin, consisting of two trunks and one Champagne basket. A boat is daily expected and I will send them to Major MacRee the first opportunity and request him to send them together with anything he may have of yours to the Quartermaster at New York. I regret that I do not find the box of books that Dr. Griffin expected from Des Moines — I think it probable it has never reached this place. . . .

Yours most truly L. B. Easton

Lieutenant Easton and Maj. Samuel MacRee were both of the quartermaster corps. Dr. Griffin had been stationed at Fort Des Moines,

Iowa, before he was transferred to Fort Leavenworth to join the Army of the West.

34. Quarterly Report of sick and wounded at el pueblo de los Angeles, California for the quarter ending March 31, 1848

Remarks

Volunteer troops

... On the 12th of March, 71 recruits arrived at this post from New York for the Volunteers. The recruits have been unhealthy since their arrival, many of them exhibited symptoms of scurvy.

Discharges and Deaths

Regular Troops

Oliver C Wilson, Corporal, Co C. 1st Dragoons, Fracture, died February 24. This man was assaulted by Indians on the night of the 20th of Feb. while drunk. The frontal bone fractured and depressed just above the left eye, but there was only a slight external wound. The right eye much swollen and bruised. He had every symptom of compression of the brain. The trephine was applied and the depressed portion of the frontal bone elevated on the 21st. He became sensible after the operation and was able to speak and answer questions. On the 22nd, the symptoms of compression again returned and he died on the 24th of Feb. After death another fracture was found in right temporal bone. There was no depression or external sign of fracture.

The total number of soldiers now at the post was 388, of whom thirty-two were reported sick at the end of the quarter. The volunteers from New York were comparatively young men, and had been screened by health examiners before their enlistment. Yet many of them were sick with scurvy when they reached California after six months at sea — sad commentary on the diet aboard ship.

35. Letter from Ex-Gov. Pio Pico to Lt. George Stoneman, Los Angeles
Los Angeles August 7, 1848

[Translated from the Spanish by Mrs. Leonor Montau, Univ. Calif., Los Angeles]

My worthy Sir:

By your kind letter of today I am informed that some reason which you were not able to foresee yesterday afternoon has deprived both of us of the pleasure of a horseback ride, and I should be pleased if on some other occasion when you find yourself free, our desire may be fulfilled.

Today I am leaving for Santa Margarita, my place of residence, where I shall await your convenience.

Your affectionate friend, who wishes you a happy trip and attentively kisses your hand.

Pio Pico

The deposed governor and the future governor of the state of Cali-

fornia were great friends and were partners in several horse-racing ventures. Lieutenant Stoneman was compadre to Pio Pico's brother, Andrés.

36. "Extract"

Head Qrs 10th Mily Dept

Monterey, California

August 28th 1848

Orders No 59

I. Captain A. J. Smith 1st Dragoons after having mustered out of service the N.Y. Vols. stationed at Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego as required by Orders No 50 of the 7th inst, will join his company at Los Angeles, and will remain there to garrison that post until further orders. He will cause to be landed for the use of the troops at Los Angeles, the subsistence stores now on board of the Anita, and will retain such Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, Medicines and Medical Stores, subsistence and QMasters property as he may require for the service at his Post, all other stores will be disposed of as directed in former orders.

II. Assistant Surgeons Griffin and Murray will resume their proper stations, the former at Los Angeles and the latter at Monterey, in Compliance with the terms of Department Special Orders No 18 of June 15th 1848.

By Order of Col. R. B. Mason

W. T. Sherman

1st Lt 3rd Arty A.A.A. Genl.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in Mexico City on February 2, 1848, ratified by the United States on March tenth, and by Mexico on May thirtieth. A courier from Lower California reached Monterey with the news of peace on August 6, 1848. The volunteer troops, enlisted for the duration, were promptly mustered out of service, leaving the regular army for garrison duty.

37. Letter from Erasmus Darwin French

Steward, Los Angeles Hospital

to Griffin, Los Angeles

Sept. 25, 1848

I am now about to leave Pueblo and become a deserter for the sake of gold. I think I have uncommon powerful motives to induce me; It is not barely for the sake of sordid gold, that induces me to run this risk, it is the recollection of early years; the love of friends, and a desire to palliate the sorrows of my aged parents who know not where I am, that stimulates me to better myself if possible. Still I may fail: if so, I trust that the fortitude which has never yet forsaken me, will be my support. I regret very much to leave you, especially under such circumstances; rank has prevented us from being associates, but we may have been friends, thus it is painful for me to part with one who I cannot meet except under disagreeable circumstances. I would like to have waited till your Reports were made out, but circumstances favored this time. I have taken nothing from the Hospital except a few cathartic pills, 3iii of calomel, some Rhei & jalap, and a few

emetics. I wish you would look over the things, and charge Westfall about them, for others may steal on my credit. I shall Loose 6 or seven dollars expended this month. I enclose the invoice from Monterey. You can put confidence in Westfall if he dont get to drinking, which he has not done lately. I believe him to be honest.

I have but little more to say. Government has certainly violated its contract with me (not that I blame any officers in Califa) and I feel conscientious in leaving. My intentions are honest, my motives good and my conscience unaccusing. P. S. I have this minute discovered that one corner of the invoice has been torn out, I cannot possibly imagine how. I will put down all that I can remember.

Ol Ricini	btls	14
Ol Olivae	"	8
Ol Menth Pip	oz	1
Opium Gum	lb	2
Rhei Pulv	"	2
Scillae Rad	oz	6
Sup Tart Potass	lbs	6
Sul Sub Loti	"	4
Sulph Ether	. . . . .	1
Oil Turpent	. . . . .	1

There are 10 articles missing from the invoice according to the ruled lines and I have made them all out I think. You may rely upon its being correct.

The rumor of gold at Sutter's mill was confirmed in army circles late in May 1848,⁴⁷ and, by the middle of August, army desertions to the placers had already become an acute problem.

Private Erasmus Darwin French had been Dr. Griffin's hospital steward since the Army of the West left Leavenworth in June 1846. He had labored with Griffin through the battle of San Pascual and its long medical aftermath, and had moved with him from San Diego to Los Angeles. It was not without emotion that Private French said goodbye.

Named for Erasmus Darwin — English physician and botanist, and grandfather to Charles Darwin — young French had a legitimate background for the ambition which he expressed. He had studied medicine in Michigan prior to his enlistment and had been engaged in private practice.⁴⁸ Perhaps the government had, as he claimed, violated its contract when it failed to promote him above the rank of hospital steward.

It is gratifying to know that Erasmus Darwin French did not fail to "better himself." Following a year or so at the mines, he settled on a ranch in the Tejon, where, on several occasions, he was helpful to overland travelers.⁴⁹ Still interested in mining, he made a number of expeditions into Death Valley in search of silver, and gave his middle name to Darwin Wash and to the town of Darwin. While living in San Jose in the 1850's, French married Judge Samuel Cowles's daughter, Cornelia.

They reared two sons, and eventually moved to San Diego where they bought a ranch in Poway Valley, near the San Pascual battlefield. A long poem by E. D. French, commemorating the battle, is among the San Pascual manuscripts in the Bancroft Library.

Toward the end of his life, French's name appeared often in the columns of San Diego newspapers, because he was chairman of the county board of supervisors and lent his support to the move of the public offices from Old Town to the new location nearer the harbor. The fact that he was a deserter from the army never made its appearance in the public print.

38. Letter from Major Thomas Swords
Washington, D.C.

to Griffin, Los Angeles
September 28, 1848

My dear Griffin

Here I am again at my old place in the Qr. Mr. Gen'l's Office — having been down at Vera Cruz during the summer where I remained until the last soldier left and the place was turned over to the Mexicans. I did not get the fever, but had a bilious attack on my return from New Orleans to Vera Cruz, where I had been for a couple of days, making arrangements for transports — which perhaps saved me from the vomits, as men dying at our office door was quite a common occurrence. I do not know how long I am to remain here, the Gen'l (Jesup) would like me to go back to California, but I give him no encouragement — he says he wants one of the Qr. Mrs (Majors) in whom he has confidence to go to that country, stay a year and make a full report to him of it — do not know who he will send. . . . the 2 Inf. and 2 Cos of the 3rd Arty sail next month to relieve those men in California. Dr. Turner goes out to relieve you — I made it my business to see Dr. Lawson and to represent your case to him. He said he would send out Medical officers enough for duty in that country and relieve both you and Murray. So I hope you will be on your way home soon. . . .

I have just stepped in to the Adj't Gen'l's Office to ask if Smith's Company have been relieved — Devil a bit could he tell — said he intended it, when the Companies were ordered over from the Rio Grande. Benton has just finished polishing a devil of a speech against Kearny's nomination as Maj. Gen'l. He gives it to Kearny, Cooke, Mason and Emory — a good part of which K. deserves for writing such *friendly* letters to Benton at the time Fremont was in Monterey — but his course towards Mason is most rascally, he misrepresents him in every way and I wish Mason could give him a good cowhiding. He ought to have challenged him last winter — though I don't believe he will fight. What think you of the Brevet bill — does not Emory get well paid for his intimacy with *Ha. Ins* on our trip over. Why he gets two bvts. and Turner only one, would be hard to say — perhaps his being the brother in law of the Secy of the Treasury helped the matter some. Kearny has treated us most unjustly — he has not ever that I have

heard mentioned our names in any way and *you* certainly deserved as much as anyone else for San Pascual — a grand affair for the Brevet of Major Gen'l to be conferred. Cooke was recommended by K. for a Lt. Colcy — is perfectly disgusted at not receiving it. He goes on recruiting service in charge of Carlisle Bks. Gen'l Jones has just called me in to his room to read the instructions to Mason — they were written to *retain* Smith's Company in California — but I talked the matter over with him & he said he would change it, which promise I hope he wont forget. . . .

Emory has had his journal published — I do not think he has made as much of it as he might — I would write more but am to go home and have an operation performed this morning for the piles, so my equanimity is a little disturbed. Give my love to Smith and Davidson and Stoneman — hope soon to see them all — as ever Your friend

Tho. Swords

Major Swords had returned to Washington with General Kearny in June 1847, to report to Q.M. Gen. T. S. Jesup and to testify at Frémont's court-martial. After the trial, Sen. Thomas Benton, Frémont's father-in-law, was vindictive toward the army officers who testified against Frémont.

Lieut. William H. Emory may have been helped toward his brevets by Willard P. Hall, the congressman from Missouri who traveled with the Army of the West, and he may well have been boosted by his brother-in-law, Secretary of the Treasury Robert J. Walker; nonetheless, the young topographical engineer had earned his awards, and the "journal" which Major Swords belittles was a highly creditable document.⁵⁰

Capt. H. S. Turner, General Kearny's adjutant, was brevetted a major. Every line officer who fought in the battle of San Pascual received awards for gallant and meritorious service, but the doctor and the quartermaster were not so honored.

Dr. Thomas Lawson, surgeon general, fought a continuing battle with Adj. Gen. Roger Jones on behalf of his medical men in the field, but the higher officer complained that too many surgeons were required in proportion to the number of troops, that doctors did not cover enough territory, that leaves were granted too generously, and that too many civilian doctors were hired. He successfully blocked Dr. Lawson's and Major Swords' efforts to have Dr. Griffin and Dr. Murray relieved. Dr. George F. Turner did not reach California until the spring of 1849 and died in 1854.

Apparently the news of California gold had not reached Major Swords, or he might have been more willing to return west.

39. Letter from Dr. Rob Murray
Monterey

to Griffin, Los Angeles
Oct. 10, 1848

The mail went off without my recollecting that mail day had come around my dear Doctor and I consequently did not write you. After some delays I got here safe & sound some 10 days after I left Los Angeles. I lost my horses at Old Sanchez ranch and after waiting a day to look for them I took a couple of horses and went on alone, leaving my party to hunt the animals. I fell quite in love with travelling alone and with two good horses which lead well I could travel through California with much more comfort and satisfaction than with 100 vacaros. I found that Mr. Reed had left San Miguel for the Placer taking with him the two horses which you left there. I wrote him by Warner to sell both horses for the largest price in gold and turn the money over to Warner for you. I took the liberty to alter your orders, because I thought that the riding them to the Placer had repaid Reed for the keeping of them. I found Monterey dull enough with a good many sick people. The invoices which you ask for are already at Los Angeles and among your papers. I saw them and gave them to the Steward who compared them with the Medicines and found all right. He either has them still or returned them to me and I put them among your other papers. You will find them either in your trunk or on the table. I send others however, in case these should have been mislaid. Since I have been here I have been quite busy. A good many people sick and a great many cases of scurvy among the new recruits who came out with Ingalls in the Huntress. My Steward deserted some three days before I got home which of course gives me a good deal more to do. I have to put up medicines as well as prescribe them. Desertions still continue, among the 46 recruits who came out there have been some 20 or 25 deserters and the old men of the Company are deserting one by one. Practise here is pretty profitable. I have averaged about 20\$ per day on my books since I have been here, and I suppose I will be able to collect most of it. Our population has been increased by some 300 refugees from Lower California. Some few very respectable families with quite pretty young ladies. One or two of them are far ahead of our Upper California young ladies in conversation & manners.

The Doña & Manuelita with one or two other young ladies enquire very affectionately after you. You must remember me to the ladies of my acquaintance with you and embrace them all for me. How is the old negrita.

The volunteers numbering some 250 came up in the Ohio. They are a rowdy lot with the exception of one company and never think of obeying orders. They have refused to go into tents and have loafed into any vacant house which they can find. The squadron have all arrived except the Warren & Dale. They are looked for every day. The Ohio got here two or three days since. I have not found out whether your box of clothes is aboard. I have asked one or two of the officers but they could not tell me and I have not seen the Purser who probably has charge of the box. I hope it is there as we shall probably have some dances

and I am without dandy clothes & even decent apparel until the Anita arrives. I found you were right about the scantiness of my wardrobe. Were it not that I was in Los Angeles when you arrived, I should accuse you of carrying off a quarter part of my valuables in the clothing department.

Col. Mason, you will no doubt have heard has gone to the Placer. The old Commodore is going to follow his example and will be off in two or three days. Sherman & Warner have gone up. Halleck will be off in a week or two. Things here are much as when you left. Much more bustle and stir owing to the arrival of the immigrants and volunteers. Stevenson has not arrived. I don't know what he is about so long on the road, regulating the Missions I suppose.

Halleck sends his best love. He says your game was all knocked in the head as soon as Bestor arrived, that you had no more chance than a stump tailed bull in fly time. Bestor has now gone to the mines and the young lady would be very glad to have Don Juan back again. The general impression here among those who should know the views of the Administration is that the Dragoons will be moved to the north as soon as the Civil Governor comes. I hope you will have an opportunity yet of making some money in the Placer. Best love to Davidson & the Capt and all my friends. Write soon and send me the receipts. Send any letters you wish to send home by the first opportunity as there are two chances.

R. Murray

(To be continued)

NOTES

30. *Regulations for the Medical Department of the Army* (Washington, 1840), p. 18.

31. 31st Cong., 1st sess., *H. Exec. Doc. No. 17* (1850), p. 634.

32. Henry Dwight Barrows, "Don Antonio M. Lugo," *Hist. Soc. So. Calif., An. Publ.*, III (1896), 32.

33. 31st Cong. (as in note 31 above), p. 312.

34. Thomas C. Lancey, "The Cruise of the Dale," *San Jose Pioneer*, 1879-81 (manuscript collection, Bancroft Library, scrapbook, p. 133; typed transcript, p. 409).

35. Lancey, *op. cit.*, scrapbook, p. 217; transcript, p. 672.

36. Griffin (as in note 5 above), p. 87.

37. Warner, Hayes, and Widney (as in note 26 above), p. 44.

38. 31st Cong., *op. cit.*, pp. 402, 403.

39. J. A. C. Grant, dean of the division of social science, U.C.L.A., found the copy to be substantially correct, except for the omission of footnotes.

40. "Journal of John McHenry Hollingsworth," introd. by Robert E. Cowan, Calif. Hist. Soc., QUARTERLY, I (Jan. 1923), 36.
41. 31st Cong., *op. cit.*, p. 425.
42. Records of the U. S. war department, office of the surgeon general, "Letters sent 1849-53," pp. 390, 426, 439. Microfilm copies.
43. Mrs. James L. Ord (Doña Angustias de la Guerra), "Ocurrencias en California" (manuscript, Bancroft Library).
44. Warner, Hayes, and Widney, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
45. Myrl Ebert, "The Rise and Development of the American Medical Periodical," Medical Library Assn., *Bulletin*, XL (July 1952), 243-76.
46. Heitman, *op. cit.*, II, 590-93.
47. William T. Sherman, *Memoirs* (New York, 1875), I, 40.
48. *History of San Diego County* (San Francisco, 1883), pp. 118, 140.
49. Carl I. Wheat, "Pioneer Visitors to Death Valley," Calif. Hist. Soc., QUARTERLY, XVIII (Sept. 1939), 197; Bancroft, *California, op. cit.*, III, 749.
50. Emory (as in note 4 above).

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
<i>Associate</i>		
American Trust Company	San Francisco	George L. Harding
Anglo California National Bank	San Francisco	George L. Harding
Bank of California, N.A.	San Francisco	George L. Harding
Standard Oil Company of California	San Francisco	George L. Harding
<i>Active</i>		
Ronald E. Bates	Modesto	Sherrill Halbert
Sherman L. Brown	Berkeley	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Col. Walter C. Bryte, Jr.	Washington, D. C.	Membership Committee
Mrs. Lyda M. Buckle	San Francisco	Mrs. Mildred Baird
Mrs. Richard C. Dickman	Bakersfield	Mrs. H. Newell Clement
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Miss Marjorie A. Harris	Escondido	Membership Committee
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Richard M. Lyman, Jr.	Oakland	Mrs. Ralph H. Cross
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Richard Henry Morefield	Berkeley	Honor Award — University of California
Miss Marilyn Morris	Seattle	Honor Award — Mills College
Mrs. John O'Donnell	San Francisco	Miss Stella Huntington
Robert H. Power	Vacaville	Membership Committee
Robert C. Ross	Woodside	Everett D. Graff
San Bernardino Free Public Library	San Bernardino	L. Burr Belden
Frederick Simpich, III	Honolulu	Honor Award — Stanford University
South Pasadena Public Library	South Pasadena	Membership Committee
W. Barclay Stephens, M.D.	Alameda	K. K. Bechtel and George L. Harding
Mrs. Jane Lawler Stern	Beverly Hills	Transfer of membership of her mother, the late Mrs. Oscar Lawler
Col. K. W. Stott	San Diego	Philip A. Bailey
Austen D. Warburton	Santa Clara	A. T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.
Mrs. Maude V. Waring	San Francisco	Mrs. Camille J. Ehrenfels
Arthur L. D. Warner	Indio	Aubrey Drury
Gilbert Woo	San Francisco	James Abajian

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin

Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black

Edwin T. Blake

Helen Kinsell

William C. Latham

M. Hall McAllister

Ruby McCormick

F. J. Morin

Frank M. Ogden

Mrs. E. O. C. Ord

George A. Pope

Mrs. George A. Pope

Edward T. Sheppard

Mrs. Leslie Symmes

Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber

Edward Washington Bender

Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell

Hope Bliss

Philip Read Bradley

Eldridge Ayer Burbank

John R. Burns

Rumsey Campbell

Randolph Clement

Abraham Lincoln Danziger

Edward B. Field

Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.

Abraham P. Hanks

Thomas Norman Harvey

Virginia Utz Jobe

Arthur C. Kennedy

George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.

La Verne Scott Moss

Whitney Palache

Robert J. Parker

Ann May Perry

Mabel Gray Potter

William C. Sharpsteen

John Joaquin Smith

L. Deming Tilton

Harry C. Warren, M.D.

Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wemore Beard

Katharine Esther Bennitt

George Mackey Cornwall

William M. Gilliland

Eliza Jane Gilman

Olive Martha Gould

Emily West Knowland

Ethel A. Krook

Abbie Hyde Lewis

James L'Hommedieu

Helen Flint Lyman

William O'Hara Martin

Haig Patigian

Barbara Peters

Minna Dohrmann Pischel

Margaret James Porter

Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.

J. D. Sweeney

Dixon Wecter

Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins

Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn

Clarence Leo Best

Eleanor Smith Boone

Frances Des Marais Brogan

Ella M. Brooke

Glada V. Elden

Edward Lilburn Eyre

Estelle Lyon Fay

Lowell E. Hardy

Grant James Hunt

Emma T. Kessler

Eva M. Koch

Richard Henry McCarthy
Arthur S. Maloon
Emily Oliviera
May Hawley Patterson
Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
Julia D. Sammer
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Flodden W. Heron
Elizabeth Thatcher Kent
Douglas Stuart Loud
Jean Parker McEwen
Irving Martin
George Lovett Merwin
C. O. G. Miller
John J. Newbegin
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Thomas L. Phillips
Ruth Loring Richardson
Warren Russell
Irving M. Scott, Jr.
Willard Brown Thorp
George F. Williamson
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
Arthur John Bancroft
Francis Edward Bishop
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Charles Philip Boone
Marie Wilson Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Katherine Thayer Cate
Bessie Hobart Chapman

Frederick Herman Coon
Florence Osterero Cullen
Lillie E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Alice Eastwood
Maude Wyman Eberts
Paul Eliel
George August Fuhrig
Robert B. Gaylord
Frank Carroll Giffen
Mary Glide Goethe
Irene L. Goudey
Mabel L. Holmes
Frederick B. Kellam
George E. Kennedy
William James Laing
Winifred M. Menzies
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Lynn Townsend White

1954

Rae Griswold Behrens
Leonard W. Buck, M.D.
William W. Carruth
Isaac Flint Chapman
Helen Richardson Espy
Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
Armand Leon Hering
Mary Pardow Hooper
Caroline Lendelof Johnson
Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
James H. McDonough
John Ward Mailliard, Jr.
Ruth Comfort Mitchell
William G. Paden
Paul P. Pitchlynn
Ida M. Reed
Thomas M. Robinson, Jr.
William Henry Shine
Willard O. Wayman

In Memoriam

MRS. OSCAR LAWLER

In their mountain home is where my memory finds the Lawler family. Since childhood I have visited there, near Idyllwild — seeing no changes save the natural ones. Four pines grow straight and tall above the two-story log cabin. They were named for the four children who now have children, even grandchildren of their own. After fifty-three years of flourishing family life, the matriarch died on February 10, 1954 — at seventy-six years of age, without long illness or change in personality.

A few days later a good friend, Hedda Hopper, devoted her column entirely to "Great Deeds left by Hilda Lawler." This heartfelt tribute commenced: "She played a big part in the building of Los Angeles. Hilda was born of a pioneer family." Her German father, Charles Brode, rebelled against Prussian oppression and left his home in early manhood, in the early 1850's. His first stop was Australia. From there he worked his way to San Francisco, and eventually to Nevada — where he mined and married. His wife died after bearing two tiny girls for him to bring up in a rough mining camp, near the Comstock Lode. He decided on Los Angeles as a more suitable environment for them, and arrived in the midst of a smallpox epidemic.

Desperate for a way to earn money, when his savings were spent and no business opportunity could be found in the afflicted city, Charles Brode became a nurse. He saved a son of Harris Newmark from death in the fetid "pest house," thus earning a gratitude and friendship that has endured through generations of Brodes and Newmarks. When the epidemic subsided, he started a grocery business aided by Mr. Newmark (whose *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* belongs among classic Californiana). He met and married Clara Alexander, the beautiful Bavarian who became the mother of Hilda and three boys. Upon each child she bestowed the family characteristics of good looks and warmth of personality.

In June 1947, when Hilda Brode Lawler joined the California Historical Society, she wrote briefly for the *QUARTERLY* about her father's early life, especially in the south — where he went during the '60s "when Los Angeles was a handful of many kinds of people"; where she herself was born in 1878, when "the inhabitants numbered about eight thousand . . . and it's been an interesting and exciting thing to see the development of a pueblo into what Los Angeles now stands for."

After marriage in June 1901, Mrs. Lawler shared the struggle and success of an attractive lawyer husband whose family had come from Ireland by way of Iowa. The William Lawlers lived without luxuries, having nine children to raise on the wages of a Southern Pacific machinist. Young Oscar took all sorts of odd jobs, in boyhood; and acted as secretary to Judge Erskine Ross of Los Angeles — while reading law. He was admitted to the California State Bar in 1896. Until marriage,

he continued to live at the congenial family home on North Hill Street, paying board along with a wage-earning sister and brother named Emma and Ora. His first firm name was Lawler & Allen.

Oscar Lawler became renowned in private practice, besides holding important public offices in California. There was even an interval of residence in the national capital, when he served as assistant attorney general during the Taft administration. Meanwhile Mrs. Lawler was caring for their children as they came along, wherever the home happened to be. The eldest son, named for his grandfather Brode, was scheduled to practice law like his father. Instead, he became a noted sculptor and professor of art. Always close to his mother, sure of her understanding, his stories of her are revealing.

Charles has told me of the safari long ago, when his mother became the first white woman to travel overland from Capetown to Cairo — “and she looked it, too, when she came back” all weatherbeaten. That was no movie expedition to “King Solomon’s Mines.” Hilda Lawler entered wholeheartedly into the whole adventure, as she did into the adventure of life.

Ever since I remember her, she wore long sleeves — to hide the scars from painful burns suffered in 1919. The Oscar Lawler home in Los Angeles was bombed, supposedly by a criminal who jumped from a window to his death, when questioned about it. Both parents spent months in a hospital, because they dashed through flames to save the baby, “Pat.” Now Pat, handsome and unscarred, is president of the Farmers and Merchants National Bank of Los Angeles. His formal name is Oscar Thom Lawler.

Another son, named for Judge Ross, is successful in the insurance business; and the only daughter, Jane Stern, is filling her mother’s place in the community and at home. Hilda Lawler, a pioneer in spirit, encouraged her children to find their own way; and work with children was her major contribution to the community. From the early days of marriage, she served the Children’s Hospital, in various capacities, and watched it grow like the city.

As Hedda Hopper observed: “There never was a more devoted wife or mother. Her family came first. Yet she always found time to do things for the community.” In the *Los Angeles Times* on February twenty-second, the columnist listed all southern California organizations served by Mrs. Lawler through the years, including the Children’s Hospital, the Symphony Association, and the University Religious Conference. This last is non-sectarian, devoted to achieving accord and understanding among all religious and racial groups.

Mrs. Lawler became a life member of “Save the Redwoods League” in northern California; and California Historical Society members will recall the interesting day, only a year ago, when she presided over festivities at historic Rancho Santa Anita, as chairman of our hospitality committee. Yet, as her daughter wrote to me, “You well know that listing the *things they did* doesn’t even begin to describe the *substance* of our Mothers’ lives.”

SUSANNA BRYANT DAKIN

MEETINGS

HOMER D. CROTTY (2d vice-pres. California Historical Society; pres. Friends of the Huntington Library); *May 15, 1954*; "SKETCHES OF MARIPOSA IN THE FIFTIES."

By way of prelude to his address, Mr. Crotty described the Sierran site and gave a short history of Las Mariposas rancho, which Gov. Pio Pico had granted to Juan B. Alvarado in 1844 and which in 1847 was purchased for John C. Frémont's account by Thomas O. Larkin, acting as the colonel's agent. In spite of this transaction, Frémont, upon the discovery of gold on his property, could take no defensive action against free-lancing miners because his patent did not issue until 1856. By the latter date, said the speaker, the placers had been for the most part stripped of their precious metal.

As the specific occasion for the May meeting was the centennial of Mariposa County's white courthouse building, Mr. Crotty gave a résumé of its history. The county seat, originally at Agua Fria, was changed in 1851 to Mariposa. Until such time as the court could be housed, the sessions in summer were held in an arbor; winter created a problem which the first of the judges, J. M. Bondurant, solved by using his own house for a courtroom. By 1854, land having been donated by William B. R. Owen, construction was begun by P. V. Fox and A. F. Shriver, to facilitate which, Shriver built a sawmill in a stand of white pine, a mile or so from the courthouse site. The new building had two stories. County offices were housed downstairs, while upstairs were the courtroom, law library, and judges' chambers. Court is still held there. (The clock tower was not added until 1866.) Before 1855-56, when the county lost portions of its vast extent to the formation of Merced and Fresno counties, Mariposa boasted eleven lawyers, as shown in the 1850 census. Now, the number in active practice is considerably less. For timely information on the subject, Mr. Crotty cited Noel C. Stevenson's article, "Mariposa Court House, 1854-1954," in the present volume (XXIX, No. 1) of the *Journal of the State Bar*.

To show what life was like while the early stripping of Mariposa's mines was taking place, Mr. Crotty read briefly from some of the personal accounts which seemed to him to give the most accurate picture. Among them was the diary of a young Ohio lawyer, George W. B. Evans, published by the Huntington Library in 1945 under the title, *Mexican Gold Trail, the Journal of a Forty-niner*, Glenn Dumke editor.

By the time Evans and his party reached the Mariposa diggings in November 1849, prospects of success were not so rosy as had been expected. Furthermore it was raining. This slowed mining operations by day but quickened the nightly turnover at gaming tables, as well as the pace of "infernal orgies" which began early in the evening. In fact, in the overabundance of his particular element, Jupiter Pluvius had much to answer for. Human error necessitates the setting up

of means whereby justice can be administered, and Evans's diary (Dec. 28, 1849) goes to some length to make the process clear. An alcalde was chosen — diminutive, unkempt R. H. Driggs — who, as Mr. Crotty's quotations from Evans showed, was elevated to office while seated at a card table, simply by proclamation of Agua Fria's assembled gamblers. In his January 5, 1850, entry, the diarist describes minutely the holding of court "in a small trading shanty." Outside, the rain had been and was falling. Nevertheless, court, in spite of the "frail workmanship" of its accommodations, can be said to have been held and the prisoner found guilty of petit larceny. Evans, it seems, left Mariposa in February 1850; his death occurred in Sacramento in December of that year, at the mere age of thirty-one.

A second source of information, selected by Mr. Crotty for the early period, was C. M. Pike, whose unpublished memoirs are in the California Historical Society's library. Pike describes the attempts of a committee in Coulterville (ca 1857) to administer justice, especially in cases where Chinese had been robbed and killed wantonly. Committee justice was instituted, because, according to Pike, the "courts were too slow." He was of the opinion that it had worked.

A third source, referred to with enthusiasm by the speaker, was H. M. T. Powell's *The Santa Fe Trail to California, 1849-1852*, published in San Francisco in 1931 by the Book Club of California, Douglas S. Watson editor. Powell's party arrived in Mariposa in April 1851 — too late for flush times and, discouraged, they returned to San Francisco and thence, via Panama, New Orleans, and St. Louis, to the starting point at Greenville, Ill. Rain, rain, rain, at the Mariposa diggings was the burden of his as well as Evans's complaint. He and his party worked "the large bar in front of Colonel Frémont's house." The house he pronounced as "good" and the garden "pretty." But the men got "almost dead with fatigue," although they had not yet penetrated to gold-producing earth. They persevered at the diggings from April 12, 1851, to the twenty-sixth; then they gave it up.

In concluding his address, Mr. Crotty turned from the diggings, per se, to the superb digging engineered by nature when, in the process of time, she produced Yosemite Valley, a "profound" which J. M. Hutchings, in his book *In the Heart of the Sierras*, characterized as "inapprehensible," "uninterpretable."

But Mariposa County, on that spring day of the centennial celebration, knew how to exhibit also the endearing attributes of nature; and, as Mr. Crotty said, it knew how to do so particularly well.

FRANCIS PRICE (pres. Santa Barbara County Historical Society); *June 10, 1954*; "THE ROLE OF THE ALCALDE IN THE TRADITIONS OF SANTA BARBARA."

For more than a century, Mr. Price said, Santa Barbara has been commended by outsiders for showing pride in the quality of its Hispanic background. Eugène Duflot de Mofras, in Santa Barbara during April 1841, remarks in his book, *Exploration de l'Orégon, des Californies . . .*,* upon the fact that, "Even today Santa Barbara still retains many traces of the firm precepts of religion and order that have descended from the days of royal Spanish rule"; while the following January Sir George Simpson, governor-in-chief of the Hudson's Bay Co.'s territories in North America, describes Santa Barbara, in comparison to Monterey, as "what the parlour is to the kitchen." Whereat Monterey, enamored of its own belles, seems not to have taken umbrage, as a then-current couplet, recited by the speaker, showed.

Over six decades before Duflot de Mofras' and Sir George's visits, the crowded Indian villages along the Santa Barbara Channel had been recognized by Felipe de Neve, governor of California under Spain, and by the Franciscan missionaries, as an area ripe for conversion. Accordingly on April 21, 1782, a royal presidio was established on the mainland central to the islands, with Father Serra saying mass and chanting a hymn of praise. In addition to a mission near the new presidio, Neve's plan called for conversion centers at the extremities of the channel's coastline. On March 31, 1782, immediately preliminary to the establishment of the Santa Barbara presidio, Mission San Buenaventura had been founded. Four and a half years later (Dec. 4, 1786), the cross was raised for the central establishment itself, with Father Lasuen preaching the dedicatory sermon on December sixteenth; and a year later (Dec. 8, 1787) the site for La Purísima Concepción was blessed. At that time, jurisdiction, both military and civil, over the area extending from the pueblo at Los Angeles to the mission at Purísima, was assigned to the Santa Barbara presidio. The early importance of this southern California "parlour" can thus be seen.

In the next decade, Spain took official notice of the settlements or pueblos, made up chiefly of soldiers' families and invalid soldiers, that were beginning to appear in the neighborhood of the presidios. Regulations, including the granting of house-lots and fields to the settlers, were therefore passed and made applicable to presidial pueblos as well as to pueblos proper — viz., San Jose, founded in 1777; Los Angeles, 1781; and Branciforte, 1797. As liberalized from time to time, these measures also provided for ayuntamientos or town councils, composed of regidores or aldermen (at first appointed; afterwards elected), and of alcaldes or chief magistrates, the members of each ayuntamiento to depend numerically on the population. Municipal officials were to be responsible for the revenues, for town improvements, for policing, and, by article 321 of the Spanish constitution of

* (Paris, 1844), I, 370. Transl. by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur as *Travels on the Pacific Coast* (Santa Ana, 1937), I, 194.

1812, they were to supervise all educational institutions supported by community funds.

By the spring of 1822, Spanish rule in California was replaced by Mexican. The oath of allegiance was taken in Monterey on April eleventh, and two days later at Santa Barbara. As to changes affecting the government of towns: an ayuntamiento, including a *síndico* or city attorney, was to be chosen by the people of each *pueblo*, the *síndico* to take the place of the governor-appointed *comisionado*, who previously had been the town's highest-powered official locally, and who was now to rejoin his military unit. Records of the decade are scarce, but we know that in 1825 there was some functioning of civil officials in Santa Barbara, an *alcalde* having complained that an innocent game of monte at his house had been broken up by the military. In December of the next year (1826) came José María Echeandía's formal order for the election of an ayuntamiento at Santa Barbara, though, as H. H. Bancroft (*History of California*, II, 1886, 572 note) says, the list as recorded is imperfect.

Meanwhile the presidial *pueblo* in the town was growing. A. Duhaut-Cilly, world traveler, reported in 1827 that there were from sixty to eighty houses outside the presidio, each with its little garden. Santa Barbara was also getting into the news for other than horticultural reasons. In December 1829-January 1830, during the revolt of presidial companies against Governor Echeandía's nonpayment of back pay, the local military participated in the Battle of Santa Barbara, said to have been waged more with words than with lethal missiles. *Alcalde* in 1829 was Martín Ortega; Rafael Gonzales, *regidor*; and José Antonio de la Guerra, Jr., *síndico*.

Echeandía had been watching Santa Barbara's educational as well as her military expenses. Literacy was one of the town's strong points; as early as 1794, the commandant at San Francisco, worried because not a man in his company could write, had asked that one be sent north from Santa Barbara. But literacy costs money, and in 1828 Echeandía objected to recompensing a teacher at Santa Barbara because, in spite of all the *alcalde*'s efforts, not a single scholar attended the school. *Alcaldes* themselves had to be familiar with the alphabet. Article 127 of the Spanish constitution of 1808 required that written copies of orders of arrest be given to persons to whom they applied.

Other evidence of an ayuntamiento at Santa Barbara was the charge, made in 1831 by ex-Governor Echeandía (running for a second term), that it had been suppressed by Gov. Manuel Victoria. The situation continued to be unsatisfactory: in 1832, question arose as to whether the then-existing ayuntamiento had been constitutionally organized. Similarly in 1833 the legality of José Antonio de la Guerra's tenancy of the office of *alcalde* was held in doubt. To clarify matters, the *diputación* in session at Monterey in 1834 voted, in response to petitions and upon motion of J. A. Carrillo, to create an ayuntamiento at Santa Barbara (population 940), with an *alcalde*, four *regidores*, and a *síndico*, the jurisdiction

of the *alcaldía* being specified as extending from San Fernando to Purísima. Gov. José Figueroa confirmed the diputación's vote on August sixth of that year. Only occasionally, however, does activity on the part of the *ayuntamiento* figure in the records. Attempts to deprive the *comandante* of judicial powers also came up before the diputación, but civil and military officials continued to say unpleasant things about each other.

Finally, in November 1839, a provision in the law of March 20, 1837, dissolving *ayuntamientos*** (except at the capital), was put into effect under Gov. Juan Bautista Alvarado, their places to be taken by *jueces de paz* — justices of the peace, or first and second *alcaldes*; and Santa Barbara was made *cabecera* (capital) of the second *partido* of the second prefecture. Thus, shortly before Duflot de Mofras' and Sir George Simpson's visits, the office of *alcalde* had been given added importance in the government, and the town had won a new distinction as the residence of a sub-prefect.

The speaker referred to the part played by the so-called Laws of the Indies in forming the basis for the early government of California. In general terms, these laws represented the attempt of Spanish kings, acting through the section of the Indies in the council of state, together with the viceroys, to evolve a uniform system or code for the administration of the provinces in America and Asia; or, as stated in Title X of the Spanish constitution of 1808,† to insure that the conquered territories beyond the seas should "enjoy the same rights as the mother country." These "rights," plus Mexican modifications, were to be made use of by representatives of the United States at the time of the conquest. Actually, it meant treating with local *alcaldes*, sole remnants of three and a half centuries of New World officialdom in Alta California.

In their attempts to follow instructions, U. S. officers added their share of modifications to the *alcalde* system, among them a form of trial by jury, which Mr. Price said delighted the Californios and was demanded by them at every possible opportunity.

Developing the subject of the role played by the *alcalde* in the traditions of Santa Barbara, the speaker described how that official "could dispense with formal judicial procedure and settle difficulties by 'vocal litigation,' that is, by paternal conciliation. Everyone carried his troubles to the *alcalde*." And the broad-brimmed black hat and silver-headed cane were well remembered by Mr. Price as having lingered on, when the town's first uniformed police force made their appearance. Here and there throughout his address, amusing incidents, that had

**Restored in Los Angeles in 1844. It will be remembered that in 1847 George Hyde, *alcalde* of San Francisco, selected six men, answering the purpose of an *ayuntamiento*, to assist him because of the great amount of municipal business.

†Arnold R. Verdum, transl. and ed., *Manual of Spanish Constitutions, 1808-1931* (Ypsilanti, 1941), p. 6.

come to Mr. Price's attention during his researches, were recounted for the entertainment of his audience.

Addendum. Chronological references in convenient form, to many of the vicissitudes of provincial town-government in California, may be found in Bancroft's *California* (as cited above), especially Vols. I-III.

Correction: In June 1954 QUARTERLY, p. 183, REPORT OF THE TREASURER: after "Cavalier Memorial fund" read \$1,200.00

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Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

- BANTA, HENRY COMES. Ups and Dovens of a Ole Calafornaen; a Biographical Sketch. Stockton, San Joaquin Pioneer & Historical Society, 1954 [6] p. Illus. [Apply to publisher]
- BORDON, STANLEY T. Arcata & Mad River; 100 Years of Railroading in the Redwood Empire. [San Mateo] Western Railroader [1954] 38 p. Illus., map. \$1.00.
- COGHLAN, JOHN P. Coghlan-Kearney Family History. San Francisco, Recorder-Sunset Press, 1954. 115 p. Ports. [Apply to publisher]
- FERNALD, CHARLES. A County Judge in Arcady; Selected Private Papers of Charles Fernald, Pioneer California Jurist, with Introduction and Notes by Cameron Rogers. Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954. 268 p. Illus., ports. \$7.00.
- HAFEN, LEROY R. and ANN W. Old Spanish Trail, Santa Fé to Los Angeles; with Extracts from Contemporary Records and Including Diaries of Antonio Armijo and Orville Pratt. Glendale, Arthur H. Clark Co., 1954. 378 p. Illus., map, ports. \$9.50.
- HALE, JOHN. California As It Is; a Reprint of the Edition of 1851, with Biographies of the Ancestors of John Hale, 1637-1800, and His Descendants, 1826-1952. [San Francisco] Privately Printed, 1954. xxviii, 49 p. Map, plates, ports.
- HARLOW, JAMES. Land of the Oaks. Oakland, Board of Education, c1953. 141 l. Illus. [Apply to publisher]
- LOTT, ARNOLD S. A Long Line of Ships; Mare Island's Century of Naval Activity in California. Annapolis, U. S. Naval Institute [c1954] xiv, 268 p. Illus., ports. \$4.95.
- LYNCH, JAMES. With Stevenson to California. Oakland, Biobooks [1954] v, 56 p. Map. \$7.50.
- MATTESON, THOMAS JEFFERSON. The Diary of Thomas Jefferson Matteson, Calaveras Pioneer. [Valley Springs] Calaveras County Historical Society [1954] 30 p. Illus., port. [Apply to publisher]
- MELENDY, HOWARD B. One Hundred Years of Masonry in Humboldt Lodge No. 79, F. & A. & [sic] M., 1854-1954. [Eureka] Author, 1954. 107 p. Port. \$1.00.
- SANTA ROSA LODGE No. 57, F. & A. M. One Hundredth Anniversary . . . Santa Rosa [The Lodge] 1954. 58 p. Illus., ports. [Apply to Lodge]
- WOOD, RAYMUND F. California's Agua Fria; the Early History of Mariposa County. Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1954. 112 p. Illus., map. \$3.50.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

The New Englander, Emerson, has figured considerably in Texas-born John Q. Anderson's academic life, his Ph.D. dissertation (Univ. North Carolina, 1952) being concerned with Emerson's concept of the poet, as revealed in his essay on the subject and elsewhere. Mr. Anderson is now instructor in English at the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College. His war record, in this country and in Europe, covers the period 1940-45, from which he emerged as captain, and which included one year's service at the San Francisco presidio.

Robert E. Blackmon (A.B., San Jose State College, 1949; M.A., Univ. Calif., 1954) is a graduate-assistant at the University of Wisconsin, where he is preparing for his Ph.D. in journalism ("mass communications") — a subject in which he majored for both the A.B. and M.A. degrees, and in which he has had newspaper experience in San Francisco, Merced, and Brentwood. Mr. Blackmon served as a paratrooper, 1942-45, over Sicily, Italy, and Holland, in the 82nd airborne division of the U. S. army.

Readers of the *QUARTERLY* are familiar with Benjamin Franklin Gilbert's studies of the American Civil War period, the present article being the fourth on this topic published by the Society. For a biographical account of Mr. Gilbert, see page 93 in the March 1947 issue. He has since received his Ph.D. degree (Univ. Calif., 1951), and is assistant professor of history at San Jose State College.

For some eighteen years, beginning as a student at the University of Washington, Joseph Anthony Wagner has been studying the use of the human voice. This means familiarizing himself with conditions unfavorable (speech pathology) as well as favorable (forensics) to its use. Travel in Europe and Asia has sharpened his ears and his understanding; and now, as assistant professor of speech in the interracial atmosphere of a California institution (Long Beach State College), the process goes on. Before completing the requirements for his Ph.D. degree (Stanford Univ., 1952), Mr. Wagner served as sales superintendent of the Pan-American World Airways, Alaska region.

CORRECTION: We are informed by Miriam Allen deFord that the length of her residence in the San Francisco Bay area, given as a "dozen" years in the June *QUARTERLY*, p. 188, should have been multiplied by three. We are glad to make this correction — with regret at its necessity.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

The Rev. Mr. Thornton T. Denhardt is the son of the late Maj. David S. Denhardt, Sr., of the 24th regiment of Chatham, Ontario, Canada. The younger

Denhardt reached San Francisco shortly after the streets became passable, following the great earthquake of 1906. In 1911 he entered into thirty years of service in the Episcopal mission-field of the Sacramento Valley, and conversation with him is refreshing in the vividness of his recollections. One can understand why such a good observer took up painting, which he did on holidays during the early 1930's. The Franciscan missions and the redwoods were his favorite subjects. One of his canvases found a buyer; some are hanging in his church office at St. Paul's Episcopal church in Oakland, where he is associate minister; others, according to the artist, "became dead-give-aways." In Colusa County is a piece of land on which Mr. Denhardt is raising almonds. This gives him a foothold in his old mission-field along the Sacramento. And it gives him a chance, also, to show how the spears with which he once combatted sin in those parts can be beaten into pruning hooks, in line with the Biblical recommendation and the requirements of the almond.

(Notes on new members will be continued in Dec. 1954 Quarterly)

The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the laws of quantum mechanics are determined by the laws of the theory of the structure of the atom. This is a circular argument, but it is the only way to proceed. The second part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom. It is shown that the structure of the atom is determined by the laws of quantum mechanics, and that the laws of quantum mechanics are determined by the laws of the theory of the structure of the atom. This is a circular argument, but it is the only way to proceed.

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QUARTERLY

December 1954

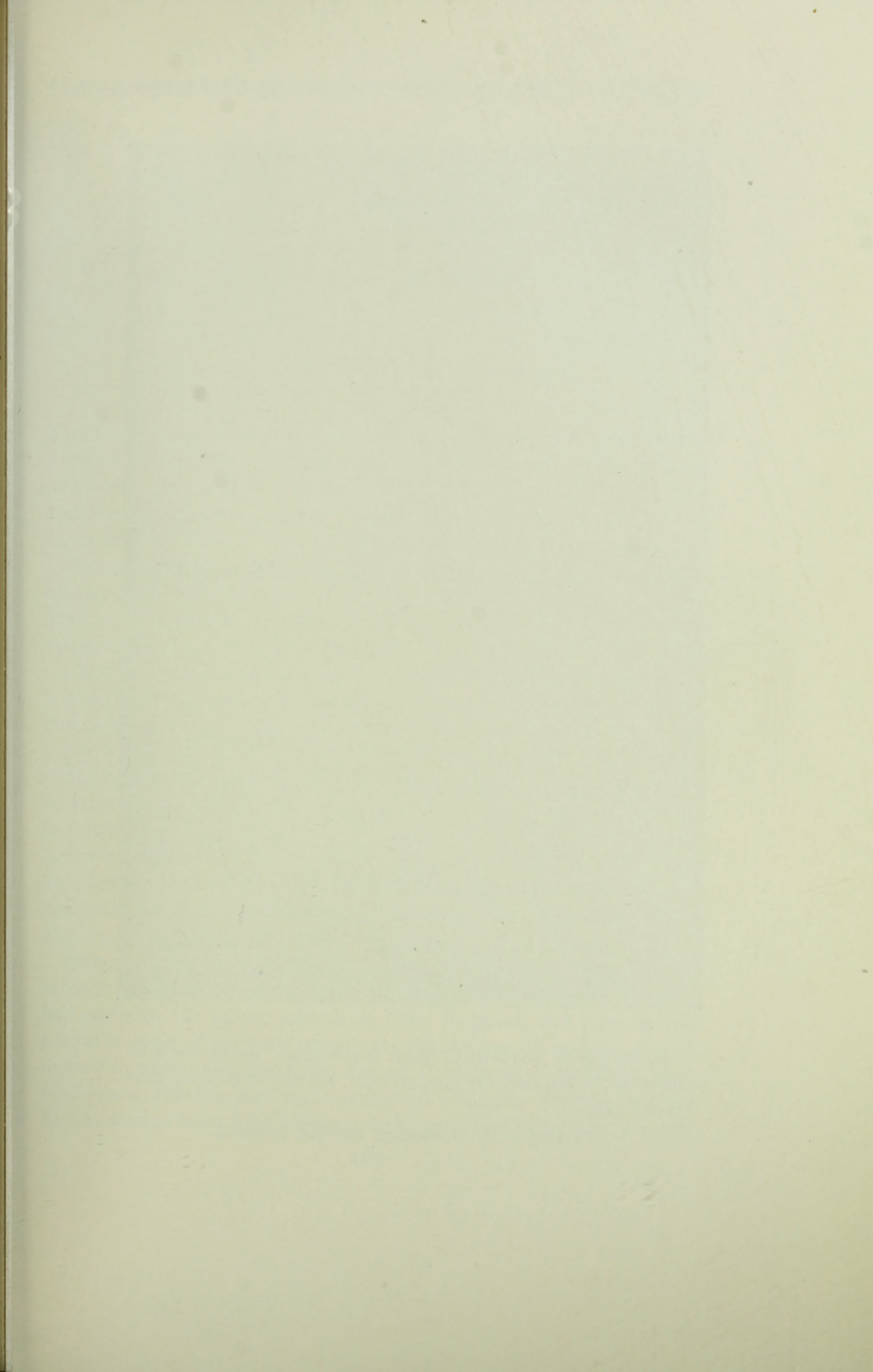
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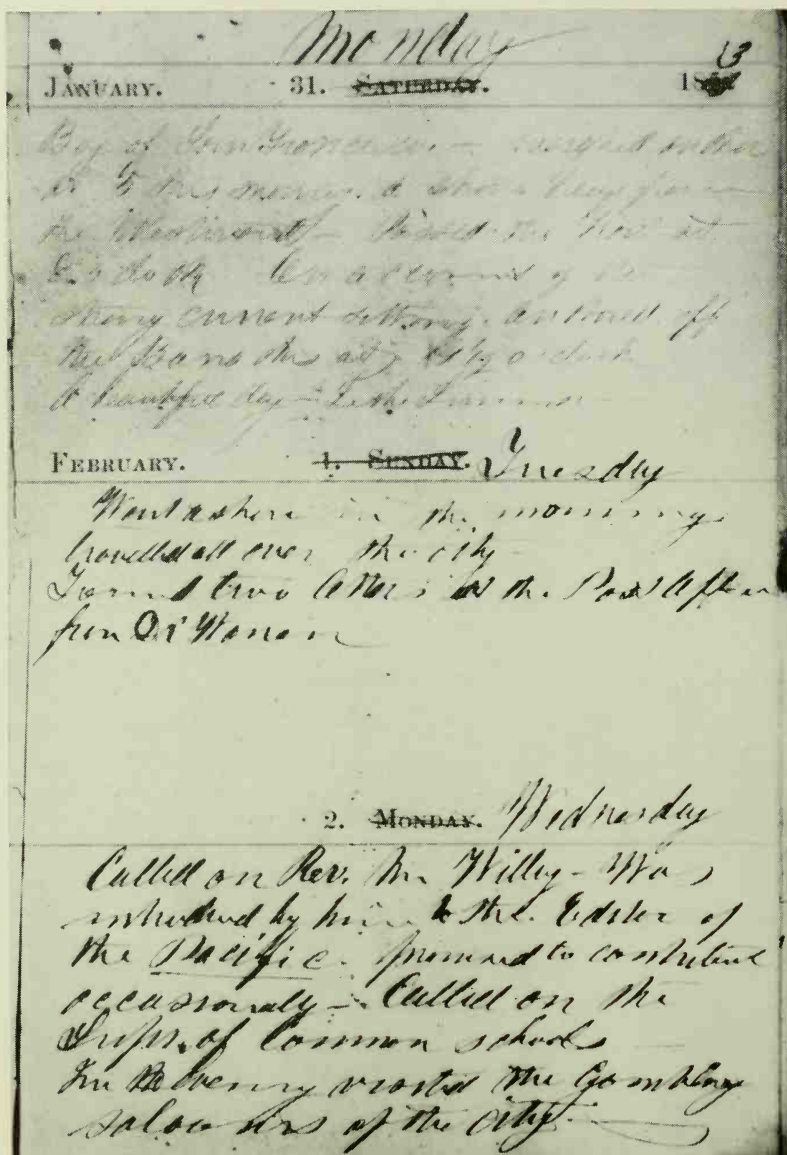
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Sample page of John Swett's "Pocket Memorandum," noting date of his arrival in San Francisco Bay (Jan. 31, 1853), and date of his debarkation (Feb. 1, 1853).

Courtesy of Mr. Frank Swett, Martinez, California

John Swett's Diary

January 25 to November 16, 1853

With Introduction and Comments

By WILL S. CLUFF, JR.

THE CALIFORNIA PUBLIC SCHOOL system owes much of its existence to a man who is now nearly forgotten in the state except among teachers, historians, and the alumni of the various schools which bear his name; and even among this last group are some who do not realize the significance of the heading on their diplomas.

Some idea of John Swett's early life in New England can be had from his report on "Money Expended in 1847," when he was seventeen.¹ On May 24, for example, he paid 50 cents for a hoe and 13 cents for garden seeds; on June 5, he bought "2 ½ yards cloth for Pants . . . \$2.59;" July 20, *Sear's Pictorial History of the United States* cost him \$1.75; August 9, a silk necktie was bought for 62 ½ cents, and on the tenth a hair brush and comb caused an outlay of 30 cents, while half a quire of writing paper was worth 10 cents. On the other side of the ledger was "An Account of My Work in 1847,"² carefully noted being the names of the farmers who employed him and the kind of work he did: planting, driving cattle, working on road, hoeing, shingling, haying. Half a decade later we shall find him engaged in the same routine of hoeing and haying, etc., but on the opposite rim of the continent, where the inhabitants seemed to have had an infinite appetite for onions (e.g., diary entries for Feb. 15-29, and July 14-16).

Swett came to California in 1853 at the age of twenty-three, with no intention of teaching school nor, indeed, of remaining in the west. He had attended the public schools of New England, and later he had taught in some of the same schools for the purpose of earning enough money to study medicine under Dr. O. P. Warren of Pittsfield, New Hampshire. But this plan was interrupted when Dr. Warren told him he was soon to leave for California, to be gone two years. He "thought

I had better go along with him and study medicine after our return," Swett wrote in his reminiscences.³ The young man was unable to book passage on Warren's steamer, and as there were no other accommodations he went back to studying and teaching until the doctor should return.

His qualifications as a teacher were spoken of highly by Nathaniel Hills, principal of Pembroke Academy, Pembroke, New Hampshire, in a letter of recommendation dated November 16, 1850.⁴ Swett had discharged his duties with "entire satisfaction to the board of Trustees," said Hills. Summing up the situation, Hills called him "a young man of great energy of mind, possessed of a good moral character, and is cheerfully recommended. . . ." N. C. Berry of Boston, writing in the same vein, stated that mathematics was Swett's "fort, there he is at home, even in the higher departments. . . ." But he was also proficient in the natural sciences — in fact, Berry said, Swett had succeeded in "bearing off the palm for keeping the best school from a dozen of his associates in the same town [Pembroke]."⁵

These professional prospects had to be abandoned because of ill health and the continued weakness of one of John Swett's eyes. He determined to go to California; the long sea voyage would help him regain his strength, while the gold fields might yield a fortune. In company with a friend, Joseph C. Morrill of the Pittsfield Military Academy, he secured passage on the sailing ship *Revere*, and left Boston September 15, 1852, for the west via Cape Horn. The time was beguiled in various ways. "The first month out," he says,⁶ "we talked with one another and read all the literature aboard ship; then I took to reading Shakespeare and Scott, and to writing long letters for the Boston *Cultivator*."⁷ He also began to keep a diary, and we pick up the thread of his story on Tuesday, January 25, 1853, from his "Pocket Memorandum" — a black, paper-bound notebook, measuring 4 by 6 inches.⁸ The bluish-colored pages are divided into three sections, one section per day, each section being dated and the day named; but, as the diary was originally intended to be used in 1852, Swett crossed out the name of the day and wrote in the correct one.

All the entries are for 1853; therefore, for convenience in printing as well as economy of space, the year has been omitted in making the transcription. Wherever possible, identification has been made of the persons and places mentioned in the diary that are not already familiar to students of California history. The transcriber will welcome information on those not so identified.

The superiority of the often-precarious, pad-on-knee entries in a frontier diary over the ruminative, armchair piecing together of recollections after the passage of years, will again have confirmation, we think, by comparing Swett's "Pocket Memorandum" with his . . . *Personal Reminiscences of Half A Century* included in his *Public Education in California*, which was published in New York in 1911.

MEMORANDUM

for

1853

J. SWETT.

Ship *Revere* — Boston

to San Francisco —

Jan. 1st 1853

108 days out of Port.

The first few pages have been torn out and lost, so that actual reporting begins on January twenty-fifth: "L. $31^{\circ} 6'$ — L. $128^{\circ} 20'$ Strong breeze fair and cool — Spoke the English Barque *Lycomia* 195 days out from Cardif[f] — Two other sails last night."

Wednesday, January 26. Lat. $38^{\circ} 50'$ $124^{\circ} 50'$ S. Goras 124 miles dst. Fresh breeze — day cool and clear — "Land hi!" was the cry this forenoon. Probably point Barree de Arena. Passed a clipper bark and two schooners standing on the other tack.

Thursday, January 27. Cloudy in the morning with strong breeze — afternoon wet rainy cold — Somewhere within 50 miles of port — The evening thick foggy, black as Egypt. Raining in torrents. Standing South East with first watch.

Friday, January 28. Morning cold and foggy — wind light. The clouds lifted up showing point Rieves [Reyes?] and the island off the entrance.

Saturday, January 29. Off Point Reeves [*sic*]. A clear day. Calm in the forenoon — Light breeze in the afternoon. Some prospect of getting up to the Bar. Spoke a schooner — heard that Daniel Webster was dead and that Franklin Pierce is president.

Sunday, January 30. Off Point Reeves — Point still in sight for we drifted back in the night. Fired signal guns until 12 o'clock. Firing now (11 A.M.) — A thick fog coming on.

Monday, January 31. Bay of San Francisco — weighed anchor at 5 this morning. A strong breeze from the Westward — Passed the Fort at 8 o'clock. On account of the strong current sitting anchored off the Barracks at 9¹² o'clock. A beautiful day Like Summer.

Tuesday, February 1. Went ashore in the morning. Travelled all over the city — Found two letters at the Post Office from Dr. Warren.⁹

Wednesday, February 2. Called on Rev. Mr. [Samuel H.] Willey — Was introduced by him to the Editor of the *Pacific*¹⁰ — promised to contribute occasionally. Called on the Sup't of Common schools — In the evening visited the gambling saloons of the city.

Thursday, February 3. Travelling around the city in the forenoon. Mrs. Elliott¹¹ called down at the wharf in the afternoon and left her address. Called in the evening at her home found a letter from my mother. Called on E. H. Slocomb.

Friday, February 4. Walked the streets and wrote letters — Called on Mr. Willey and Ed. of the *Pacific*. Passed the evening at Mr. Elliott's. Left some books there. Packed my things to leave the ship.

Saturday, February 5. In the forenoon got my freight on board the steamer by paying twice the value. Left S.F. at 4 P.M.

Sunday, February 6. Arrived at Sacramento at 6½ A.M. A thick fog on the river — Captain refused to leave me at the Hock Farm [J. A. Sutter's]. Reached Marysville at sunset — Stopped at the Merchant's Hotel — Lodging for the night without meals.

Monday, February 7. Started with my heavy pack for Sutters at 9 o'clock. Met Dr. Warren on the *Road*. Returned to Marysville. Walked all day and reached the Dr. little Squatter's house late in the evening, tired and hungry.

Tuesday, February 8. Started in the morning to go to Sacramento. Boated down the tulys [*sic*]. Rowed 6 miles, walked six more, and then were obliged to put up on the way. Stopped with Judge Garr [Carr?] from *Mission*. Had a fine time — slept on the floor.

Wednesday, February 9. Left Judge Garr's in the forenoon welcome to our lodging and entertainment. Met some indians on the *Point* — Rowed the scow 6 miles dragged the boat over the shallows, wading up to my knees in mud and water — Distance 15 miles — Reached home at 8 o'clock in the evening.

Thursday, February 10. Fine weather — held plough and drove the team for plowing — a wild Irishman and skeleton oxen. Tired enough to sleep soundly and hungry enough to cook a meal of victuals and eat it with a good relish.

Friday, February 11. [Hand quite shaky as if tired] Plowing all day. Do not feel fatigued as I expect I am stronger than I supposed. Appetite good — eat more because things cost so much.

Saturday, February 12. Plowing — Sod turns up rich rather wet — cattle get mired — ground free from rocks. Noticed a flower like the Butter Cup of New England — Grass growing finely — Weather warms in the middle of the day.

Sunday, February 13. Warm and pleasant — Started early in the morning to attend church at Marysville — eight miles distant. Went to the Methodist church in the morning and afterwards went into the gambling saloons and drinking holes. All in full operation.

Monday, February 14. Foggy in the morning but pleasant. Ploughing and harrowing — Noticed a flower like the buttercup of New England — Very abundant on the plains. Sent a letter to Mr. Brewer¹² and one to the American Union.¹³

Tuesday, February 15. Cloudy in the morning and overcast all day. Busy in hoeing and raking down an acre of ground for an onion bed — The 'wild Irishman' did not half plow it.

Wednesday, February 16. Cloudy in the morning and quite cool — In the afternoon a little rain. Raking down the onion bed.

Thursday, February 17. Clear and cool — at work on the onion patch — a bed of one acre. It was not half plowed and rakes hard. I do not think onions will grow.

Friday, February 18. At work on the onion patch — five days labor in vain — Clear and pleasant.

Saturday, February 19. Have done nothing of consequence today. In the afternoon a visit from Mr. [G. M.?] Hanson and wife — Unwell today — over eating. Have written a letter to Nutter and White and one to Mr. Douglass Editor of the Pacific.

Thomas W. Nutter and James E. White were friends with whom Swett had attended common school and academy in Pittsfield, New Hampshire. The two men had established a trading-post for miners' supplies at Potter's Bar, about thirty miles northeast of Marysville on the North Fork of the Feather River.

Sunday, February 20. Morning cold and clear — Wind all day. Wrote a letter to my mother — A crowd of 'callers' all day. This Sabbath has been spent in vain.

Monday, February 21. A warm sunshiny day. Walked to Marysville to sell my confounded 'drugs' but could not dispose of them at any rate. Expected a letter from Joe [Joseph C. Morrill] but was disappointed. Reached home at 9 o'clock hungry and fatigued.

Tuesday, February 22. Cloudy and cool — At work on the onion patch — Quite unwell. A bad attack of the Dyspepsias which renders me perfectly miserable — Shall I ever get over it?

Wednesday, February 23. Cold and cloudy with light showers. A shower fell last night — Sick today but at work.

Thursday, February 24. Cloudy with light showers in the afternoon.

Friday, February 25. Rainy with heavy showers during the day. Started off in the morning after the wild boar into which the Devil has certainly entered.¹⁴ Returned at noon wet and tired. received a call from T. W. Nutter. Very unexpected and very pleasant.

Saturday, February 26. Showers in the night, cloudy in the morning clearing away in the afternoon. Washing, ironing, starching collars, dickeys, and shirts, and mending the order of the day. I succeeded well. Baked some tall bread, the nicest I have seen in Cal.

Sunday, February 27. A fine pleasant morning. Intended to go to church but the Dr. was absent and so stayed at home — Have written one letter today. Company again which has broken up the Sabbath.

Monday, February 28. Pleasant. Dr. attending court — Have been sowing onions. Flowers on the plains are blooming in profusion.

Tuesday, February 29. Warm, pleasant and sunshining. Sowing onions. Feel much better having recovered from a very bad attack of dyspepsia. The air is soft and balmy like a mild day in June.

Swett made an entry under this 1852-calendar date, even though 1853 was not a leap year. He did not discover his error until Monday, March 7, when he corrected it by skipping two spaces and, thereafter, entering the right date.

Wednesday, March 1 [March 2]. Warm and clear and delightful. Noticed 4 varieties of wild flowers. Wild lettuce in abundance.

Thursday, March 2 [March 3]. Warm and very pleasant.

Friday, March 3 [March 4]. Exceedingly warm. Cut a large oak four feet in diameter.

Saturday, March 4 [March 5]. Very warm — Busy cutting oaks.

Sunday, March 5 [March 6]. Warm and pleasant. Unable to attend church. Have written one letter to mother, 2 to Salem, one to B. T. Warren, one to Joe.

Monday, March 7. Walked to Marysville to dispose of some medicines. Sold some to Dr. [J. B.] Warfield and some to Dr. [E. M.] Peirson [?]. Started at 11 o'clock and reached home at 7½ in the evening.

This is the second entry concerning medicines, or "drugs" (see February 21). When he left home in September 1852, Swett was sure that he would have a chance to study medicine. He had therefore packed a supply of drugs, which he now proceeded to sell to keep himself in pocket money. He was not being paid for his labors at Dr. Warren's, other than his "keep," and he had several expenses, especially in the way of clothes. Toward the end of his diary will be found a list of expenses and income, reminiscent of his New England efforts at solvency.

Tuesday, March 8. Rainy

Wednesday, March 9. Rainy — Building a hen house. Am tired of doing nothing. Shall leave soon for some place where I can make something.

Thursday, March 10. Cool but pleasant. Hunting after the cursed hogs that stole off while at work. Tired and cross.

Friday, March 11. Pleasant and cold.

Saturday, March 12. Fair and quite cool — The coldest night of the season. Closed up and sent to the office two letters, one to my mother and one to the Boston Cult[ivator].

Sunday, March 13. A fine pleasant morning. Unable to attend church or to write letters on account of confusion. My health is variable, sometimes better and again worse.

Monday, March 14. Pleasant but cool.

Tuesday, March 15. Rainy in the afternoon.

Wednesday, March 16. Overcast — Wrote a letter to Prof. Russell,¹⁵ one to Rev. S. H. Willey and 1 to W. H. Slocomb.

Thursday, March 17. Pleasant and warm.

Friday, March 18. Cool — Left for Warren's Ranch at 8 o'clock. Started from Marysville for Bidwells Bar at 12 M. — Reached Charly's Ranch at 6½ — 15 miles from M— Have walked 30 miles and feel stiff and sore. A grand supper.

Determined to try something new, Swett struck out for the northern mines, although he had been told that they had pretty well been worked out.

Saturday, March 19. Reached Long's Bar at 5 o'clock. There I found White waiting, and with him walked over to Potter Bar — Had a glorious time with N. & White talking over old matters.

Sunday, March 20. At Nutters and Whites — A beautiful day. Wrote a letter to my mother, to John C. French and J. C. Morrill.

Monday, March 21. Left Potters in the morning and went to M.R.¹⁶ but could find no chance to work. Returned to White's to take back a dog that came off with me.

Tuesday, March 22. Left Potters early in the morning and reached Morris' Ravine at 11 o'clock. Went two miles farther to try to get a chance to work with a young Scotchman — Was successful in getting a chance to work on shares — Warm and fine.

Wednesday, March 23. Commenced working with Mr. [Joe] Donaldson in Coyote claim — Worked hard clearing mud and water. Weather fine and warm.

Thursday, March 24. Claim full of water — Went prospecting up the little ravine but could not start the color of gold. Got a chance to go into a cabin with a great good-natured Scotchman — a jolly comrade. Ice formed in our buckets.

Friday, March 25. Night and morning cold — My partner thought best not to work the claim on account of water — Prospected a while then walked over to Potter's Bar.

Saturday, March 26. Warm and very pleasant. Went with White to Bidwell's Bar. The miners were digging under the houses and the place has been nearly all dug over — Wrote to Chas. W. Hamilton and to [name erased]. Sent a [copy of the] Pacific to Prof. Russell.

Sunday, March 27. Rain pouring down in torrents. At Nutter and White's Feather R. rising.

Monday, March 28. Raining hard — river rising. Two miners brought the

news of the death of John William Steele a young Englishman, drowned in crossing Potter's Ravine — He was a noble fellow and will be deeply mourned.

Tuesday, March 29. Raining in torrents. Feather River has risen fifty feet the past 48 hours. It moves along like an avalanche bearing down thousands of mountain pines.

Wednesday, March 30. The rain has ceased and the storm cleared away. The warm sun is pouring down on us and a cheerful day is opening — The river is falling.

Thursday, March 31. Walked from Potter's Bar in the morning — Worked all day and did not make a cent. Walked 5 miles in the evening cold and went to bed to sleep cold all night.

Friday, April 1. [No entry for this day]

Saturday, April 2. Walked over to Potter's Bar because I could not work. Very tired and blue. 'Reached home' late in the evening.

Sunday, April 3. A pleasant day, but sick with a bad cold. Wrote a letter home and a piece called "The Miner's Burial" for J. W. Steele.

Monday, April 4. Rose very early and reached Morris' Ravine about sundown. Worked hard all day but made nothing —

Tuesday, April 5. I struck a drift into our claim and made about 7 dollars.

Wednesday, April 6. Commenced at sunrise and worked hard till eve. Were forced to stop on account of the caving and water. Took out in all, about 1 hours work after dinner \$80.

This was the largest "strike" Swett made in all the time he was engaged in mining. Between March 23 and June 24 (when he abandoned mining), he recorded a total of \$191.40 taken out in gold; and, as it was divided with his partners, his share can be estimated at a little less than \$70. Few accounts, written from the placers, equal the following entries in their picture of day-to-day fruitlessness of effort combined with bodily distress.

Thursday, April 7. Waited 2 hours for Donaldson to come to work and went to G. Ranch. Found him sick. Started for Dr. Warren's 49 miles distant — Walked from 12 M till sunset. 23 miles. Very tired tumbled into bed without any supper.

Friday, April 8. Stiff and sore. Started at sunrise without any breakfast. Reached Yuba City at 9 o'clock. Reached the Dr's. about 1 ½ o'clock. Very lame — walked the last nine in agony.

Saturday, April 9. Left in the morning and walked to Mull Ranch 4½ P.M. Too tired to go farther. Waited for supper till 8 o'clock and went to bed to be flea-bitten all night.

Sunday, April 10. Started before sunrise — reached Hamilton — 12 miles at 7 and after an awful walk got home to Morris' Ravine at 2 o'clock — feet sore and blistered. Whole distance walked 100 miles.¹⁷

Monday, April 11. Worked the claim three of us got 6 dollars. Difficult and dangerous drifting.

Tuesday, April 12. Worked again all day and got only three dollars — 1 dollar apiece.

Wednesday, April 13. Worked hard all day. Joe sick in the afternoon.

Thursday, April 14. Worked alone all day. Made one dollar — Joe sick.

Friday, April 15. Worked alone all day in the claim and made 50 cents. Donaldson sick with the fever and ague.

Saturday, April 16. Pleasant but slightly overcast. W. mined all the forenoon alone and made 50 cents. In the afternoon worked with Davis and made \$3. Started for Potter's Bar at 6½ o'clock. Reached there late at night after a tiresome walk.

Sunday, April 17. Raining hard this morning. A gloomy day. Nutter is quite unwell. My feet are sore and lame. Rather blue this morning.

Monday, April 18. Rain has ceased, but heavy clouds still veil the sun. Went to Morris' Ravine very early. Found the claim caved in and three days work to clear it out. My luck!

Tuesday, April 19. Pleasant but cool. Worked hard all day throwing off dirt. Tired and with headache.

Wednesday, April 20. Overcast and cool. Washed a little and took out about \$20 — 5 apiece.

Thursday, April 21. Cool and cloudy. Hard work and small pay.

Friday, April 22. Another "cave" shovelled out the dirt and then worked a little — made grub.

Saturday, April 23. Worked with swollen legs and in great pain. Beginning to break out in eruptions probably poisoned with Poisonoak a plant similar to the poison ivy of the states.

Sunday, April 24. Confined to the cabin. Hands and feet painful. Badly swelled — unable to walk can move only in agony.

Monday, April 25. Pleasant — My hands and feet swelled and the Poison Oak over my whole body. Sick and despondent. My old luck returning again!

Tuesday, April 26. [No entry for this day]

Wednesday, April 27. Pleasant, but finds me in a very unpleasant frame of mind. Sick and without a book to read! Well, I must bear it though it is hard.

Thursday, April 28. Dull in the morning. rainy in the afternoon. Hands very painful and much swelled but a little better.

Friday, April 29. Sick and sleepy. Weather very cold — raining hard. Blue as in days of old! —

Saturday, April 30. Cloudy in the morning but clear in the afternoon. Packed my blankets and walked to Potter's Bar — Somewhat lame and quite unwell.

Sunday, May 1. Found that White wishes to throw up his engagement to hire me and that I was out. Got a letter from Mother which was very cheering.

Monday, May 2. Returned to Morris' Ravine, but was too sick to work.

Tuesday, May 3. Unable to work. Went off ten miles to a sulphur spring.

Wednesday, May 4. Still too lame to work.

Thursday, May 5. Commenced working with Davis made 50 cents.

Friday, May 6. Worked all day in the drift. Made 75 cents.

Saturday, May 7. Worked all day — made 50 cents.

Sunday, May 8 Thursday, May 12. [No entries for this period]

Friday, May 13. Cloudy — making nothing.

Saturday, May 14. Worked drifting in the forenoon. Claim caved in and we gave it up.

Sunday, May 15. Left Potter's Bar and went to Pott. Ravine to see Sanborn.¹⁸ Went back to Morris' Ravine in the afternoon.

Monday, May 16. Fair and hot — Walked from Morris' R. to Potter's — 6 miles with my blankets. Went to work with Mr. Boroughs [Burroughs]¹⁹ a '49er and Davis from Pittsfield — Three of us made \$3.40.

Tuesday, May 17. Fair

Wednesday, May 18. Warm and pleasant.

Thursday, May 19. Cloudy in the afternoon with thunder in the evening.

Friday, May 20. Rain pouring down all day — Crawled into Sanborn and Carr's tent²⁰ — A Frenchman taught me some French — The day passed pleasantly, and the night, though wet, comfortably.

Saturday, May 21. Fair

Sunday, May 22. Warm and pleasant. Went to Oregon Gulch and Morris' Ravine

Monday, May 23. Cloudy but warm. Heavy thunder in the afternoon with showers to the Northward. Three of us took out \$54. a great days work.

Tuesday, May 24. Company sick — worked alone all day. Got 6 dollars in the forenoon and put in the company pot. In the afternoon made \$2.00 [word illegible].

Wednesday, May 25. Overcast — Mr. Dow, E. P. came with us today. Worked all day, three of us and got \$4.00.

Thursday, May 26. Worked all day and got 25 cents.

Friday, May 27. Prospecting — doing nothing — pleasant and clear. Cold damp nights —

Saturday, May 28. Warm and clear — Prospecting all day but finding no chance to work.

Sunday, May 29. Clear and cool — At Potter's Bar in the morning. Went from P. to Morris' Ravine to see Davis and Hight [Hite] returned to my camp tired and blue.

Monday, May 30. Cloudy and rainy in the morning but cleared away before noon. At Potter's Bar. Sick in the morning — Writing letters.

Tuesday, May 31. Fair — Left Potter's Bar took my blankets at the camp and

went Morris' Ravine. Sick and sleepy. Worked in the afternoon with Davis and Hight [Hite].

Wednesday, June 1. Fair in the morning, cloudy at night. Worked all day. We got 2 dollars — better than yesterday.

Thursday, June 2. Pleasant — Very tired and sleepy all day. Feel pretty much used up.

Friday, June 3. Quite warm — Worked all day and made three dollars. 1 dol. each — Gave up the claim.

Saturday, June 4. Very warm. Worked on a new claim and got 6 dollars — Left off early and went to Potter's Ravine and Bar.

Sunday, June 5. Very hot — the hottest of the season. Left Potter's Bar early in the morning and came over here to the Morris' Ravine. Have been reading Shakespeare — Sat up last night reading — the fleas and lice bit me so I could not lie in the Earth.

Tiring of their unprofitable claims, John Swett and his friends George B. Davis and Dennis Hite left their camp, and in company with "Mr." Burroughs headed for Grass Valley. Burroughs (see May 16 entry) was an experienced miner and was made leader of the expedition.

Monday, June 6. Left Morris' Ravine for Middle Fork of Feather River. Missed our way 4 miles — Stopped all night at Board Ranch — travelled 20 miles.

Tuesday, June 7. Started early in the morning — Road passing through fine forests. Breakfast at Forestown 5 miles. Stopped at noon at Abbotts. Reached Buckeye R. at night.

Wednesday, June 8. Up early in the morning — Saw many mule trains and teams — Lexington House at noon. Passed over snow drifts 6 ft. deep. Reached Grass Valley in the afternoon.

Thursday, June 9. For Middle Fork after breakfast. Missed the trail and struck Omen Creek — Road rough and hard — craggy — snow ten & 15 ft. deep. Walked 25 miles climbing crags and canyons.

Friday, June 10. Unwell — Ate too much supper. Laid still in the morning — Looking about — unclouded — rainy and cold at intervals.

Saturday, June 11. Off alone on a prospecting excursion — Crossed the river and went up and down — Saw nothing but some rough places and a fine grove of oaks.

Sunday, June 12. Slightly unwell — Wrote a letter to my mother and one to the Cultivator.

Monday, June 13. Crossed the river on a log and climbed a mountain to reach a shelf on the river took up four claims.

Tuesday, June 14. In the forenoon prospected a bank of the river — found nothing — We had a rich claim offered us for a song \$250 but the others would not buy and we missed it. I shall leave soon for we never can do anything.

Wednesday, June 15 Thursday, June 16. [No entries for these two days]

Friday, June 17. Off looking after claims.

Saturday, June 18. Looking up and down the river.

Sunday, June 19. Nothing to do — not a bible to be had on the Point. A long dull day.

Monday, June 20. Loafing about — The company undecided what to do — Wrote two letters.

Tuesday, June 21. Started off up the River to prospect a Bar — Had a long, hot, rough walk. Sick at my stomach.

Wednesday, June 22. Waiting for the boys to move. It is horrible to loaf about in this manner.

Thursday, June 23. Woke with a horrible headache — sick and blue.

Swett now decided that he would give up mining and return to San Francisco. For three months he had worked the placers and had come out no richer than when he went in.

Friday, June 24. Started in the morning for Marysville. Lost the trail to Grass Valley and walked through the shapporal [*sic*] all day. Came to a tent where two men were at work prospecting. Tired and hungry and glad to sleep.

Saturday, June 25. Rose early and reached Grass Valley soon after sunrise. Made Lexington H. at 9 o'clock — Made Abbotts Ranch — 32 miles. Took supper as my blankets and provisions are not yet along having left them with a team.

Sunday, June 26. Started early in the morning feeling rather sore and lame. Reached Buffalo Ranch at noon. Got a chance to work a week at haying and concluded to stop.

Monday, June 27. Mowed hard all day — lame, tired and blue

Tuesday, June 28. Raked and mowed.

Wednesday, June 29. No more work. Started for Potter's Bar and got there in the forenoon.

Thursday, June 30. Came to Marysvllle with White — Found Dr. Warren there and went down to his place. Reached it at midnight.

Friday, July 1. Terrible feeling in the morning — blue and sick. Helped the Dr. put up a little cloth house.

Saturday, July 2. Still sicker than yesterday. Passed a bad night — What shall I do? I am at a loss — I never have felt so bad since I came into this country. Very hot.

Sunday, July 3. Hot.

Monday, July 4. Better — Sheared some sheep.

Tuesday, July 5. Did nothing — but putter. Cash on hand 82.

Wednesday, July 6. Built a Hog Corral

Thursday, July 7. Last night the Coyotes killed two sheep and a lamb.

Friday, July 8. At work upon a sheep pen — Dr. gone away.

Saturday, July 9. Hot

Sunday, July 10. [No entry for this day]

After this brief sojourn at Dr. Warren's place, Swett resumed his trip back to San Francisco.

Monday, July 11. Left in the morning for Marysville. Took the steamer at 2 o'clock and reached Sac. at sunset — a pleasant ride.

Tuesday, July 12. Took passage for S.F. on Steam. Senator as 2 P.M. Ran on a bar and were detained 2 hours. Reached S.F. at 12 midnight — Slept on board the Boat.

Wednesday, July 13. Took breakfast at Mr. Elliotts — Called on Rev. Mr. Willey — at the Pacific office. Went out to Mr. Fellow's on the Presidio road where I found Joe — took dinner — returned, called on Mr. Bryant²¹ and secured a place to work in a garden at Mr. Hays [Hayes] 1½ miles out of the city.²²

Thursday, July 14. Took my blankets and went to the house of Mr. Hays [Hayes]. Worked all day at weeding onions. The sea-breeze cold but very refreshing.

Friday, July 15. Weeding onions — morning very chilly. Commence work at 5 in the m. and leave off at 8 in the evening. Makes my back ache.

Saturday, July 16. Weeding all day — Glad of Sat. night — tomorrow is Sunday — I shall have time to write.

Sunday, July 17. Went to the city and attended church — returned in the afternoon rather dull and sleepy — a fine clear day.

Monday, July 18. At work weeding — Morning cold and foggy.

Tuesday, July 19. Weeding — cold with mist — unwell, but able to work.

Wednesday, July 20. Weeding — cold morning

Thursday, July 21. Still cold and misty

Friday, July 22. Ploughing and harrowing and sowing beets — Warm and clear with strong breeze.

Saturday, July 23. Sowing and weeding — Misty in the morning. Strong wind through the day.

Sunday, July 24. Cool and uncomfortable during the day.

Until this time, John Swett had been for the most part systematic in keeping up his diary, but now the entries become haphazard, with many blank pages.

Friday, August 5. Received two letters from home today — Sent down from Potter's Bar — well come messages were they.

Saturday, August 6. Warm in forenoon but very cool in afternoon.

Tuesday, August 16. Left Mr. Hays [Hayes] last night — went into the city early in the morning. Saw Mr. Willey and Mr. Douglas and took up selling of the Pacific. I know this is a fools errand. Took the evening boat for Benicia.

Wednesday, August 17. Canvassed all day in Benicia for the Pacific but got

only *one subscriber* — Returned to S.F. by the evening boat. Sick, discouraged and blue — what a fool.

Thursday, August 18. Went to see Joe — Called on Mr. Willey and Douglass. Worked in the Pacific office till eight in the evening. Stopped at Mr. Elliot's all night. Two letters from my mother.

Friday, August 19. Took the morning boat for San Jose Mission. It may be a fools errand, but I must *try*. I have little hope of getting work — I feel discouraged — But what *can* I do?

Saturday, August 20. Arrived at S.J.M. at eight yesterday. Mr. Beard not at home.²³ Called on Mr. Horner — no work. Returned to Mr. Beard's. Treated very kindly [two words illegible] At work today in the garden.

Sunday, August 21. A stranger in a strange place.

Monday, August 22. Commenced work for E. L. Beard.

Swett stayed at Mr. Beard's San Jose Mission ranch for two months, working in the fields along with about thirty others, among whom were several professional men and two college graduates. Association with such men may have influenced him in remaining on the ranch; but, tiring at length of the physical work, he tried to find a school near Alvarado. He did not succeed, and returned to the ranch.

Sunday, September 11. A beautiful day — Health tolerable though sleepy. Wrote one letter. Rec'd one from Joe Morrill, he has a sit. at 150 per month.²⁴

Thursday, September 15. Foggy in the morning. A small shower in the forenoon the first of the season.

Monday, September 19. A beautiful day — clear, warm and balmy. Have worked one month today.

Monday, October 24. Absent hunting up a school in the valley.

Tuesday, October 25. Absent — on the plains.

Monday, October 31. Left work to be examined by county com.

The examination was for a teaching position in a school near Alvarado, but he lost the chance when a local girl was hired.

Tuesday, November 8. Returned to E. L. Beard's. Worked $\frac{3}{4}$ of a day.

Wednesday, November 9. Light showers in the night.

Sunday, November 13. Closed work for Beard last night. Hoed my last cabbage, I hope. Worked 10 weeks 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ days.

Monday, November 14. Came to the city via Steamer. Commenced raining hard at 10 A.M., rained till 1 P.M.

Tuesday, November 15. In the city waiting to see Mr. O'Grady.

William H. O'Grady was superintendent of the San Francisco city schools, and Swett applied to him for the first teaching position that might be open.²⁵

Wednesday, November 16. Raining in the morning.

This is the last entry in the diary. It is followed by a miscellaneous section, giving an account of his income and expenses:

By 1 violin	5.00
By laundry	1.50
By French Book . . .	3.00
By Hat	2.00
By 1 months work at Hays Garden starting July 14 ending Aug. 14. .	41.00
By 2 dys Haying	6.00
	<u>47.00</u>
San Francisco to Marysville	25.00
1 nights lodging at M.	1.50
Freight on Steamer	4.00
Lunches	4.00
	<u>34.50</u>
Marysville to Potter's Bar	2.50
Board two days at M. Ravine	4.00
Rice	1.00
Bread	1.00
Rice	1.00
Chocolate . . . . .	.50
Salt . . . . .	.25
	<u>10.25</u>
	<u>44.75</u>
Sugar, Meal, Syrup	5.00
Milk	1.25
Board with Davis	3.00
[Illegible]	1.50
Board for 2 weeks in camp at M. Ravine	8.00
Board at Potter's Ravine 2 weeks	10.00
Expenses from M.R. to Dr. Warrens & back	2.50
Paid to White & Nutter	3.50
June 4th. to [Illegible]	3.00
Board with D. Hight	5.00
[Illegible] . . . . .	.25

Provisions to Grass Valley	2.00
1 dinner by the way	1.00
Board and mining tools	
at Grass Valley	12.00
1 supper at Abbotts	1.00
White for fare	
to Marysville	1.00
Fare from M. to Sacramento	5.00
From Sac. to S.F.	1.00
1 pr. Boots	6.00
1 pr. Shoes	1.50
Medicine . . . . .	.50
1 pr. Overalls	1.50
Medicine . . . . .	.50
Postage . . . . .	.25
Fare from S.F. to Benicia	3.00
Me.	1.50
S.F. to [Illegible] City	4.00
	<hr/>
	143.45
To 1 pitcher . . . . .	.75
" [Illegible] . . . . .	.25
" Washing . . . . .	.75
Washing . . . . .	.75
Fare from M.S.J. to S.F. Nov. 1)	3.00
S.F. to [Illegible]	3.00
1 Hat	5.00
1 Coat	11.00
1 Vest	3.00
1 Collar . . . . .	.50
Mending watch	6.00
Postage Stamps	1.00
Lunches	2.00
M.S.J. to S.F. Nov 14)	4.00
Fare from S. Jose to S.F.	4.00
Trunk by dorey	1.00
1 pr. Pants	7.00
1 pr. Boots	8.00
1 bath . . . . .	.50
1 Neckerchief	2.25
Collar	1.00
1 Mattress	2.00
Porter . . . . .	.50

Boots	6.00
Neckerchief	2.25
[Illegible]	1.50
Watch Key	2.00
Dinners	2.00
Sundries	5.00
Hat	10.00
Striking Bell	3.00
Auction	1.50
Sundries	5.00

Medicines Sold

To J. B. Warfield	14.00
" Dr. Pierson	12.00
" Dr. Warren	12.00
" T. W. Nutter 1 oz. Quinine	6.00
" Dr. Pierson	14.00
" Dr. Warren	10.00

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1 Hat	10.00
1 Cap	2.50
1 Coat	25.00
2 pr. pants	18.00
1 pr. pants	5.00
1 Vest	6.00
1 pr. shoes	4.00
1 pr. boots	7.00
1 Watch Key	1.00
Shirts	5.00
Shirts	4.00
Collars	2.00
Flannels	3.00
Overcoat	17.00
Umbrella	5.00
Books	10.00
Carpet & Furniture	10.00
Ranch Fixin's	25.00
Prize Books	5.00
Package by Express	5.00
[Illegible]	5.00
Paper and Mag.	5.00

At this point, the "Pocket Memorandum" ends.

John Swett became a teacher in the San Francisco Rincon School, and spent many years in the city as teacher, principal, and superintendent of schools. In 1862 he was made state superintendent of public instruction; as such he was instrumental in establishing a workable school law, teachers institutes, and a state school-tax.²⁶ Swett numbered among his friends — to name a few — John Muir, James King of William, Thomas Starr King, and Andrew J. Moulder. In 1892 he retired from active participation in school affairs, thereafter devoting himself to the raising of grapes on his farm, "Hill Girt," near Martinez. But he never lapsed in his interest in education, and continued to contribute articles on the subject to the then-current periodicals. He passed away at his farm on August 22, 1913, at the age of eighty-three.

NOTES

1. Manuscript in John Swett Papers, Bancroft Library. Swett was born in Pittsfield, New Hampshire, July 31, 1830, son of Eben and Lucretia (French) Swett. An account of his career is given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*; see also William G. Carr, *John Swett, The Biography of an Educational Pioneer* (Santa Ana, 1933).

2. Manuscript in Swett Papers, as above.

3. John Swett, *Public Education in California; Its Origin and Development, with Personal Reminiscences* (New York, 1911), p. 82; also p. 64 for his ill health at the time. As will be seen below, Swett's *Reminiscences* have been of assistance in identifying many of the names mentioned in the diary.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100. (Original letters in Swett Papers, as above.)

5. *Idem.*

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

7. This newspaper was called the *Boston Cultivator* from 1839 to 1876, and thereafter (until 1915) the *American Cultivator*. It opened its pages to young writers of prose and poetry. In his *Reminiscences* (pp. 93-94, 100), Swett reproduces some of his "Letters Home" (signed "Jack"), which were published in the *Boston Cultivator* of June 6 and 8, 1853.

8. Swett's diary is now in the possession of his son, Mr. Frank Swett of Martinez.

9. Dr. O. P. Warren's squatter's claim of 160 acres, 6 miles south of Marysville, was found to be not on U. S. land but on Sutter's and therefore of no value to the doctor. Fortunately, he could fall back on his medical work, in an area overrun with chills and fever. Swett's *Reminiscences*, pp. 88-89. By 1856 he had removed to San Francisco, where the directories for that year and later show him practicing his profession on Market St. near Third.

10. J. W. Douglas, editor and proprietor of the *Pacific*, a religious weekly (Congregational). San Francisco *Directory*, 1854; Swett's *Reminiscences*, pp. 88, 95.

11. "Mr." Elliott may have been the bookbinder Thomas Elliott, listed in the 1854 San Francisco *Directory* with Le Count & Strong, booksellers and stationers on Montgomery Street; he was also listed in 1852 as bookbinder, by himself, at 159 Clay Street. A physician, S. F. Elliott, appears in the *Directory*; but Swett always refers to his friend as "Mr." Elliott.

12. At that time, Otis Brewer was proprietor of the Boston *Cultivator*.

13. The *American Union*, a weekly, was published in Boston, 1848-1876.

14. Cf. *St. Matthew*, chap. 8, v. 31-32.

15. Prof. William Russell's Normal Institute (at Reed's Ferry on the Merri-mac) specialized in rhetoric and composition, including the study of words. Swett spent six months at the institute before coming to California. *Reminiscences*, pp. 82-83. It will be remembered that Swett continued to be greatly interested in these subjects. See, for instance, his *Common School Readings; Containing New Selections in Prose and Poetry for Declamation*. . . (San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft & Co., 1868).

16. In his *Reminiscences*, pp. 90-91, Swett speaks of Morris' Ravine, 40 miles from Marysville, as "a decayed mining camp" in an area that had once been rich. For some original verses he sent to the Boston *Cultivator* from Morris' Ravine, see his *Reminiscences*, pp. 96-97.

17. The medicine Swett got for his mining partner, Joe Donaldson, was some quinine that he had left with Dr. Warren. *Reminiscences*, pp. 90-91.

18. Presumably John B. Sanborn (or a relative of his?), whom Swett mentions in his *Reminiscences*, pp. 84-85, as having emigrated from New Hampshire to St. Paul, Minn.; he may have continued to the west coast.

19. See *ibid.*, p. 92, for Burroughs, whose given name, however, is not recorded.

20. Compare entries for Feb. 8 and 9 ("Judge" Carr [or Garr?]). Swett says in his *Reminiscences*, p. 80, that, when at Pembroke Academy, he had taken "special lessons in French from the preceptress, Miss Carr . . .;" but he does not give specific information as to who the Carr was who later shared Sanborn's tent in the California mines.

21. According to the San Francisco *Directory* for 1852 and 1854, Robert Bryant & Co. maintained an intelligence office at 53 Commercial St.

22. Thomas Hayes, in "Hayes's Valley," is described in Swett's *Reminiscences*, p. 98, as "... a tough and muscular Irishman."

23. J. W. Douglas (note 10 above) had given Swett a letter of introduction to E. L. Beard. Subsequently, Beard extended his farming interests beyond the bounds of safety and lost considerably. *Reminiscences*, p. 102.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99, Swett says that when he came back to San Francisco from the mines he found Morrill "at work on a milk ranch on the outskirts of the city. . . ." Shortly afterwards came his appointment as a teacher in the Spring Valley School, Presidio Road, south of the Lagoon; he is listed as holding that position in the San Francisco *Directory* for 1854, p. 229.

25. For detailed report on the "Free Common Schools of the City of San Francisco," including the names of the board of education and the teachers, W. H. O'Grady superintendent, see the *Directory* for 1854, just cited, pp. 229-31; also included is the "valedictory report" of the outgoing superintendent, T. J. Nevins.

26. On page 2 of the San Francisco *Chronicle* of August 23, 1913, is an article (with picture) about Swett, in which he is called the "Father of California's School System." The author of the article informs the *Chronicle's* readers that "President D'Ancona of the Board of Education has directed that the schools be closed next Monday in honor of John Swett's memory and to permit the teachers to attend his funeral."

William S. and William D. Jewett

By ELLIOT EVANS

ONE OF THE MOST INTERESTING aspects of William Smith Jewett's career is the completeness of his eclipse after he left San Francisco in September 1869.¹ There is evidence that he had received recognition as an artist in New York before he joined the gold rush in 1849.² There is further evidence that he came to California to fill his purse as a trader, though he was also outfitted to paint³—and paint he did, for nearly twenty years; and yet, when he left, he practically vanished.

Why was William S. Jewett forgotten in his native New York as well as in California, his work and identity even being confused with contemporaries of similar name?⁴ Had it not been for the survival of a series of his letters and the recollections of a few aging or widely-scattered descendants of pioneers and relatives, no answer would be forthcoming.⁵ Jewett might have been neglected in any case, as the artists of one generation are often overlooked by the next; but only infrequently has an individual of talent and extensive productivity, identified closely with the growth of an important region, been so forgotten. The circumstances contributing to oblivion were numerous.

In the first place, Jewett himself seems to have been less impressed with his ability, opportunity, and significance as an artist than he was with the urge for financial security.⁶ It may be surmised from the brevity of reference to him in the California press after 1852 that, once his reputation was established to his satisfaction, he made few efforts to increase it. This is indicated by his letters.⁷ For example, he made no attempts to obtain commissions for large historical canvasses from the state legislature,⁸ and resisted or ignored temptations to secure contracts for portrait series. Some ambitious projects he had conceived were discontinued; some perished by fire.⁹ But he maintained, throughout, the keenest interest in real estate and other investments, and his letters are filled with information on such things, including crops, farms, and ex-

change. On the other hand, they are disappointing in their brief and infrequent references to his artistic activities, his circle of friends, or his everyday life.

Jewett's success in New York before 1849 seems to have been encouraging. He was represented in good collections.¹⁰ He sold through the American Art Union.¹¹ In 1845 he became an associate of the National Academy of Design and exhibited quite regularly from 1841 to 1851.¹² Yet the difficulty of tracing his early career from contemporary journals and commentaries suggests that he had done little to make himself known outside artistic circles. Nor can he be associated definitely as a student with any one painter.¹³ He may have felt handicapped by the absence of a European tour; or perhaps his natural modesty was intensified by the fact that he was slightly deaf. William Dunlap omits him in *Rise & Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834); and Henry T. Tuckerman's *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867) mentions him but briefly. In T. S. Cummings' *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design* (Philadelphia, 1865), his name appears only once.¹⁴

The following story, current in San Francisco, sheds some light on his New York standing:

Mr. Jewett came to San Francisco in 1849 bringing with him an enviable reputation. The estimation in which he was held in New York as a student and an artist being indicated by the fact that as a student at the Academy of Design he bore off the second prize amongst sixty competitors in his first trial, while . . . on his second, he took the highest; and by the fact that just as he was starting for California, he was informed that he had been selected by the Committee to paint the Governor of New York for the Governors' Room in the City Hall, New York City. His arrangements for departure were, however, made and he could not stay to fill the commission. . . .¹⁵

Had this not appeared at least plausible, there were enough New Yorkers in California, many of them his patrons, to question the story.¹⁶

Despite his apparently adequate success in New York, Jewett joined the gold rush. The move to California did not necessarily involve a severance of professional ties with New York, but there are no records of his work in New York exhibitions after 1851 when the portrait of Washington A. Bartlett appeared in the annual exhibition of the National Academy.¹⁷ This is the last known inclusion of his work in a New York show during his lifetime;¹⁸ the last hint, even, of interest on his part in the academy.

Jewett's casualness about maintaining New York connections suggests that he was occupied with western clients and business affairs. Had the American Art Union, which listed several hundred members in San Francisco for 1850, survived, he might have continued to exhibit.¹⁹ On the other hand, he seems to have executed many portraits of fellow New Yorkers in California who wanted their likenesses returned home.²⁰ Perhaps it was on these that he relied to keep his name current in the east.

Competition from photography, which troubled S. F. B. Morse,²¹ Jewett's former academy teacher and neighbor, may have influenced his original determination to leave New York and portrait practice, but we have no comment on the subject. Certainly his own observations after a career of nearly twenty years in San Francisco make it clear that he had more commissions than he found convenient.²²

He was an agreeable individual — affectionate, responsive, generous, and a very popular if perennial (in the west) bachelor, without relatives.²³ But his formal affiliations with groups were few.²⁴ At present only one can be substantiated: in 1856, he became a member of the Society of California Pioneers. He was not particularly active in the organization and never held an office.²⁵ Quite certainly he was a member of the Episcopal church and as such must have known the pioneer, Bishop William Ingraham Kip, a fellow New Yorker.²⁶ There is no evidence that Jewett took any active part in the California Art Union of 1864-65,²⁷ nor in the San Francisco Art Association of 1871.²⁸ This in itself was an invitation to neglect. He maintained his own studios, evidently alone.²⁹ When he left California, he sorted his few personal effects, noted their shipment, counted his assets, and, without further ado, started east on September 30, 1869.³⁰ By that time the tent city Jewett had first known had become a great metropolis, no longer isolated. Western taste desired European culture and could afford what it desired. Competition had been negligible in his early years; now there were numerous and productive painters west of the Sierra.³¹

The city continued to grow and the ranks of pioneers who had known W. S. Jewett thinned. Except for the Sutter portrait in the state capitol, there is no record after 1898 of any of his works appearing in a California exhibition for nearly forty years.³² Then his "Hosea Dugliss" (c. 1846), owned by the De Young Museum, was shown in the exhibition of American art of 1935 and was illustrated in the catalogue.³³

In New York, a similar fate overtook his pictures. His early patrons shifted to newer American painters and to Europeans who appealed to

the popular taste. Few cared any longer for his landscapes.³⁴ Sentimental and religious pieces disappeared almost entirely.³⁵

The San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906 swept away the belongings as well as homes of his friends and patrons. Public records were destroyed. Many institutions that had owned his works suffered similar fate. By 1906, too, only a few of his friends were left to remember or restore.

Jewett's later personal history contributed to his oblivion. Upon returning to the east, affluent although no longer young, he married Elizabeth Dunbar,³⁶ niece of Erwin Davis, a California patron.³⁷ After a return visit to California in 1871, the Jewetts went to Europe.³⁸ Their son, William Dunbar Jewett, was born in England early in 1873.³⁹ Ill health soon overtook the elder Jewett. The small family returned hurriedly to the United States. Jewett died on 3 December 1873, in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁴⁰ His widow returned to California to make her residence,⁴¹ and the son grew up in a California that was rapidly forgetting his father.

Frederic Clarke Jewett, compiler of the two-volume *History and Genealogy of the Jewetts of America*, had been able to locate only the barest facts concerning California's pioneer painter, W. S. Jewett, and little more concerning his son, W. D. Jewett, when the book reached print in 1908.⁴² During the depression, the California art-research project of the W.P.A. did not find sufficient biographical material, enough known works, nor even a lingering reputation to warrant his inclusion in its series of early painters.⁴³

In 1942 a group of fifty-five of W. S. Jewett's letters of the years 1849-69 became available for investigation. It then seemed likely that at least a part of Jewett's career could be reliably reconstructed. The letters were written at fairly regular six-month intervals during the twenty-year period. Some were known to be lost. Subsequently seven letters, all of the period June to December 1870, appeared. These document some of his activities and shed a little more light on his personality.⁴⁴

The publication (note 1 below) of parts of his letters for their relevance to California history seemed a logical means of re-introducing to a sympathetic audience the name and contribution of a significant artist and once well-known pioneer. The hope was modestly rewarded. The "Letters" elicited one reply, and established the existence of a recorded but unlocated portrait.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, gradually, and with the generous

help of California and New York institutions and many private individuals, a considerable body of primary and secondary material has emerged which will ultimately lead to a reasonably complete biography and catalogue of Jewett's work. His known pictures have increased in number from twelve, when the "Letters" became available, to more than one hundred, including several lost works. Every phase of his varied and active artistic career can now be illustrated from existing paintings.

WILLIAM D. JEWETT

The study of the elder Jewett's career led quite naturally to curiosity about the artistic activity of his sculptor son, William Dunbar Jewett (1873-1926). Interest was quickened when it was established that the younger Jewett had been the owner of an important group of his father's pictures.⁴⁶

William Dunbar Jewett was born on March 4, 1873, at Torquay, in Cornwall, England.⁴⁷ He was fatherless at the age of nine months.⁴⁸ Mrs. Jewett, never robust herself and thrice saddened by the deaths of mother, brother, and husband all within a year, returned to California to look after her infant's interest in his father's estate.⁴⁹ Only after Mrs. Jewett had re-married and settled in Berkeley, when the young Jewett was three, did the atmosphere of uncertainty give way to a new family situation and stability. He welcomed and loved his new half-sister and brother, regarding them always as his own.⁵⁰ He attended the public schools of Berkeley and in 1890 entered the University of California, where he took a lively, extracurricular interest in the boat club, becoming the first president of the boating association formed in February 1893. During his presidency, the university's first boathouse was erected, to which he contributed substantially; by 1894 the club had 500 members and Jewett became commodore of the crew.⁵¹

More in line with his later career, were young Jewett's position on the staff of the college weekly, the *Berkeleyan*, and staff artist to the 1894 *Blue and Gold* which carries many of his pen-and-ink sketches, as well as those of his good friend Frank Norris.⁵² Of Jewett at the university, one of his contemporaries wrote:

... William D. Jewett ... loved to hear whatever he could about his father whose memory he cherished and whom he wished to imitate by becoming an artist. He said, upon his graduation, he would go to Paris ... to live and study art. ... He was bright, good looking, full of initiative and well liked. W. S. Jewett, the father, would be happy to know that his son had been an honor to him. ...⁵³

Until his graduation in 1894 at the age of twenty-one, William D. Jewett had been entirely self-taught.⁵⁴ In the summer of 1894, however, he enrolled in the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art in San Francisco⁵⁵ and by autumn he had left for Paris, where he secured a studio and entered the Academy Julian. Among the opportunities of studio experience were the criticism and encouragement given him by the American sculptors Paul Bartlett and Daniel Chester French.⁵⁶ The next year his first student work was exhibited. It was an ambitious piece called "Avarice," and represented an old woman (life size) seated upon an iron-bound treasure chest and clutching a moneybag.⁵⁷

For fifteen years (1895-1910), William D. Jewett lived in Paris. His position as a portrait sculptor was established by the appearance of his "Diana," a bronze bust, portrait of his wife, in the 1910 salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. Bronze busts — "Edward Grieg" and "Study in Expression" — entered the salon of 1911.⁵⁸ Jewett had hoped that the Norwegian government would acquire the "Grieg" but his hope was not rewarded, nor was the bust accepted for exhibition in the Royal Academy show of 1912.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, his two bronze statuettes "Portrait" and "Portrait of Mme. D. J. . . . and her Dog," neither now known to be extant, appeared in the salon of 1912. The 1913 salon included three bas-relief plaques of Catalan types, probably the ones reproduced later for illustrations in O'Connor's *Travels in the Pyrenees*,⁶⁰ and "Et ils vécutent heureux" — the last of Jewett's work to be exhibited in the salon — appeared in 1914. It can no longer be identified.⁶¹

Surviving from his mature period (ca. 1913) is a pair of gold-bronze bas-relief portrait plaques: "Mrs. J. Howard Smith" of Berkeley, and "Mrs. Louis Janin," of Oakland.⁶² His portrait, "Miss Mary Louise Dunbar," is now known only from a photograph.⁶³ Another head, "Revolt," was destroyed in a southern California fire.⁶⁴ Jewett's most important work and, until recently, the only example known to be in a public collection, is an ideal head, "Funeral Bell," designed to be placed on his mother's tomb.⁶⁵ A second casting was acquired by George Walter Vincent Smith for the art gallery in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁶⁶

In 1910, Jewett married Miss Myriem Pemberton of New Orleans. The following year he bought the old chateau, Castell'nou, near Perpignan in south-central France, as a permanent residence, going to Paris only occasionally.⁶⁷ At Castell'nou he spent his most productive years and the last fifteen years of his life, respected by the inhabitants for his family's interest in the welfare of the district and for their preserva-

tion of the chateau as an historical monument.⁶⁸ From 1915 to 1919 it was maintained as a recuperation center for Americans in the armed services.⁶⁹

William D. Jewett died of a heart attack at Castell'nou on March 26, 1926. He left no children.⁷⁰ His widow re-married,⁷¹ and in the early days of World War II, the old castle changed hands several times.⁷² Those of his sculptures that remained at Castell'nou disappeared for a decade. Recently, however, his "Diana" (1910) and "Grieg" (1911), as well as two still-unidentified portrait heads of the 1910-14 period, have been re-discovered in Paris along with a small group of manuscripts. Every trace of his sketches seems to be lost, along with all but one of a large number of busts and figures which had not been cast in bronze.⁷³

NOTES

1. "Some Letters of William S. Jewett, California Artist," ed. Elliot Evans (hereinafter called "Letters"), *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXIII (June, and Sept. 1944), letter no. LIV, 27 Sept. 1869.

2. Ferdinand C. Ewer, "The Fine Arts," in *The Pioneer*, II (Aug. 1854), 112-15; and notes 10 and 11 below.

3. "Letters," no. IV, 28 Jan. 1850.

4. Helen C. Nelson, "The Jewetts, William and William S.," *Intern. Studio*, Jan. 1926, pp. 39-42; and her "A Case of Confused Identity," *Antiques*, Nov. 1942, pp. 251-53. Mrs. Nelson does not, however, offer reliable additions to the biography of either.

5. Nonagenarians who remembered W. S. Jewett: Mrs. Cornelia Pringle of San Francisco, Mrs. John Ogden Earl of Oakland, Mrs. S. W. Newhall of San Francisco, and Jewett's niece Mrs. Cornelia Upham of Boston. The latter died (1947) before she could be interviewed.

6. Concern for security animates most of his letters.

7. See note 1 above: particularly letters no. III, 24 Feb. 1850; IX, 28 Jan. 1851; XX, 7 Jan. 1860; XXXIV, 9 Oct. 1864; L, 4 July 1869; LIV, 27 Sept. 1869.

8. The original agreed price for the Sutter portrait was \$5000, but Jewett got only \$2500 in the end. Frank M. Jordan, sec'y of state, Sacramento, 11 Aug. 1949,

to E. Evans, gives the date of payment of the \$2500 as 19 May 1855. *See also* "Letters," no. XVI, April 14, 1855.

9. *Sacramento Union*, 10 Sept. 1851.

10. *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860*, ed. comp. Mary Bartlett Cowdrey (New York, 1944), I, *passim*.

11. American Art Union, *Transactions*, 1847-48; and its *Bulletin*, no. 15, 25 Nov. 1848.

12. Miss Kathleen Johnston, sec'y, National Academy of Design, New York, 9 Aug. 1948, to E. Evans.

13. Among the artists W. S. Jewett knew in New York were S. F. B. Morse (Theodore F. Jones, dir., New York Univ. Library, 14 Nov. 1946, to E. Evans), and Thomas Cole (Everett P. Lesley, Jr., 12 June 1948, to E. Evans). Jewett's work also shows characteristics suggesting William Jewett (1792-1874) as a teacher.

14. Cummings, p. 150, enters him as "William H. Jewitt."

15. Ewer, *ibid*.

16. "Letters," no. III, 23 Dec. 1849; and IV, 28 Jan. 1850. His ship, the *Hope*, arrived in San Francisco 19 Dec. 1849, with at least six other New Yorkers aboard. Paul R. Leake, collector of customs San Francisco, 24 Feb. 1947, to E. Evans. New York city-hall archives have no record of W. S. Jewett having painted a New York governor. Miss Dorothy Barck, librarian, New-York Hist. Soc., 28 Feb. 1943, to E. Evans.

17. The Bartlett portrait is now known solely from the engraving in Anna Ella Carroll's *Star of the West* . . . (New York, 1857, 3d ed.), p. 278.

18. Four Jewett family portraits were shown at the Metropolitan Museum in 1895. Mrs. Randolph Bullock, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 3 Jan. 1948, to E. Evans; and Mrs. A. J. Gardner, Metropolitan Museum, 22 Jan. 1952, to E. Evans.

19. The American Art Union, formerly the Apollo Association, which maintained a flourishing exhibition, sales and picture-distribution program, was declared a lottery by the U. S. supreme court. It concluded its affairs by auctions, 15 and 30 Dec. 1852. "American Art Union Sales Catalogues," in Harold Lancour, *American Art Auction Catalogues* (New York, 1944).

20. "Letters," no. IV, 28 Jan. 1850; the portraits Jewett mentions have not been located. Those of Dr. Samuel Ellis, Washington A. Bartlett, and Commodore James T. Watkins (identified by W. Joseph Fulton, dir., Pasadena Art Inst., in 1951) may belong in this category.

21. Miss Charlotte Weidler, Port Chester, N. Y., 5 April 1948, to E. Evans; and Miss Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, New York, 29 Sept. 1948, to E. Evans.

22. "Letters," no. L, 4 July 1869, and LIV, 27 Sept. 1869; also no. XXXIV of

9 Oct. 1864, when he was thinking of returning to New York, five years before he finally started.

23. Note 5 above; Miss A. B. Carney, Piedmont, 27 Aug. 1942, to E. Evans; Marion Thompson, Sacramento, 15 Aug. 1915, to Fidelia Jewett, San Francisco (courtesy of Carroll D. Hall, cur., Sutter's Fort Historical Museum, Sacramento); "Letters," no. XIII, 14 Jan. 1853.

24. *Ibid.*, no. XLV, 19 July 1868, indicates he cared little for politics; and Miss Mabel R. Gillis, state librarian, Sacramento, 2 May 1942, to E. Evans, confirms this lack of interest.

25. Mrs. H. S. Giffen, sec'y, Society of California Pioneers, 16 Aug. 1948, to E. Evans.

26. "Letters," no. III, 23 Dec. 1849; IV, 28 Jan. 1850, ". . . our clergyman has returned [Mr. Mines] yet left [no] one in his place." *See also* no. XXXIV, 9 Oct. 1864. No New York Episcopal parish has a record of Jewett's membership. A family connection may have existed between the Kips and Jewetts but is not proved. For mention of his presence at a church-sponsored fair, *see* Dorothy H. Huggins, "Women in War Time, San Francisco, 1864," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 261, 266.

27. The California Art Union was incorporated on 12 Jan. 1865, with a hall at 312 Montgomery St. W. C. Ralston was among the prominent supporters. Miss Mabel R. Gillis, state librarian, Sacramento, 5 May 1943, to E. Evans.

28. The *San Francisco Blue Book*, 1888, p. 129; and Miss Nealie Sullivan, sec'y, California School of Fine Arts, San Francisco, 29 March 1943, to E. Evans.

29. San Francisco directories, 1851-69, indicate several addresses in the Kearny-Clay Street area. He resided longest at 612 Clay, 1864-69.

30. "Letters," no. L, 4 July 1869; LII, 10 Aug. 1869; and LIV, 27 Sept. 1869. Jewett evidently lived in almost Spartan simplicity. His belongings, including the solitary portrait "Minnie," which he retained and which has recently been discovered, required only two trunks.

31. Thomas Hill, William Keith, William Shaw, the Nahls, and others.

32. "Portrait Loan Exhibition, Mark Hopkins Institute of Art, April 16-May 1, 1898," in *American Art Annual*, 1898. Seven of W. S. Jewett's portraits were included, of which three are currently recognized.

33. *Exhibition of American Painting; M. H. deYoung Memorial Museum—June 7 to July 7, 1935, Catalogue* (illus.), no. 151. Gift of Miss Augusta Bloomer.

34. Most of them seem to have vanished. His "Hock Valley Farm, 1852" was acquired for Sutter's Fort Historical Museum in 1943. Carroll D. Hall, 29 Oct. 1943, to E. Evans. It was reproduced in color in Edith Coulter and Jeanne Van Nostrand, *California Pictorial* (Berkeley, 1948), p. 116. More recently a handsome "Yosemite Falls," possibly ex coll. Erwin Davis, was exhibited at Gump's Gallery, in San Francisco, by Victor Spark of New York. An inferior "Yosemite

Falls," very evidently executed in New York from sketches, is privately owned in Connecticut.

35. "The Dead Bird," until recently the only known "sentimental," is owned by Jewett's grandniece, Miss Ella Bates of Arroyo Grande. "The Guardian Angel," a religious subject, and "Lost Lover," sentimental, both ex coll. Erwin Davis, have appeared with others once the property of William Dunbar Jewett.

36. In Springfield, Mass., early in 1871. Elizabeth Dunbar is perhaps to be identified with the "Yankee Girl" Jewett mentions in "Letters," no. XXXVI, 15 Jan. 1865, at a time when she is known to have been visiting Erwin Davis.

37. Jewett wrote, "Mr. Davis has some of my best pictures and more of them than anyone else in the country." W. S. Jewett, San Francisco, 20 July 1860, to his brother, H. J. Jewett, New York, introducing Davis who was, at that time, without New York connections. Orig. manuscript in "Treadwell Papers," New-York Historical Society.

38. The 1871 California trip was long questioned. Jewett's widow never mentioned it; but Mr. and Mrs. Jewett's return to the state was authenticated by reference to the Geysers Hotel register. They were signed: "Wm. S. Jewett and wife, San Francisco, Aug. 21, 1871." George T. Curry (pres., the Geysers Resort), 21 Nov. 1951, to E. Evans.

39. See note 47 below.

40. San Francisco *Daily Alta California*, 18 Dec. 1873, reported the death date as 2 Dec.; the Springfield *Republican*, 5 Dec. 1873, and Jewett's tombstone agree upon 3 Dec. 1873.

41. Evidently late in 1874 or early 1875; cf. the *Alta California*, 18 Nov. 1875, and 13 Jan. 1876, which announce the settlement of Jewett's estate.

42. Frederick Clarke Jewett, *History and Genealogy of the Jewetts of America* . . . (Rowley, Mass., 1908), II, 1065, entry no. 10960, among "Unclassified Jewetts": "William S. Jewett of New York, died in New York [*sic*]. He left a widow, now the wife of J. Howard Smith of Berkeley, Cal.; and a son William, who is a sculptor, residing in Paris, France."

43. No material relating to W. S. Jewett was collected. Reginald Gianelli, W.P.A. director, northern California district, 22 Dec. 1942, to E. Evans.

44. Letters to Miss Elizabeth Dunbar, later Mrs. Jewett, privately owned.

45. E. B. Holladay, San Marino, 29 Aug. 1944, to E. Evans reported the handsome portrait of Mrs. S. W. Holladay, no. 136 in the 1898 Mark Hopkins show. Note 32 above.

46. He received six of the seven W. S. Jewett paintings in his mother's estate, 1912. Mrs. C. Janin, Piedmont, 22 May 1941, to E. Evans. In 1940, these pictures were reported as having been stored for safekeeping and eventual return to California relatives. Ctsse. Milly de Longin-Spindler, Geneva, Switzerland, 30 Nov. 1940, to E. D. Janin, Piedmont. The paintings dropped from sight in the confusion of the war. Recovery seemed hopeless until Dr. Paul Perigord, professor

emeritus, Univ. of Calif., 1950, established connections in France that led directly to the present owner of the lost works. When located, there were seven pictures, not six. W. D. Jewett had also inherited the W. S. Jewett self-portrait last mentioned in "Letters," 23 Dec. 1849.

47. Howard D. Smith, San Francisco, the sculptor's half-brother, 27 Jan. 1951, to E. Evans.

48. Note 40 above.

49. Mrs. C. Janin, the sculptor's half-sister, Piedmont, 20 Aug. 1950, to E. Evans.

50. Mrs. Jewett married J. Howard Smith, lawyer, in 1876. E. D. (Mrs. C.) Janin, 17 May 1946, to E. Evans.

51. C. Dochtermann, field sec'y, California Alumni Assoc., Berkeley, 15 March 1951, to E. Evans.

52. Mrs. C. Janin, Piedmont, 3 June 1948, to E. Evans.

53. Mrs. Morrison Barclay, Los Angeles, 16 March 1948, to E. Evans. Mrs. Barclay's father, William F. Cashman, California pioneer, was a fellow passenger with W. S. Jewett on the *Hope*, May-Dec. 1849.

54. In addition to the six pictures noted above, Mrs. Smith owned the magnificent portrait of Mrs. Nahum Dunbar of Springfield, Mass., and had preserved W. S. Jewett's sketches, brushes, palette, etc.

55. Mrs. C. Janin, Piedmont, 27 March 1946, to E. Evans.

56. H. D. Smith, San Francisco, 28 March 1952, to E. Evans; and W. D. Jewett, Paris, to Mrs. J. Howard Smith, 23 Jan. 1912.

57. Mrs. C. Janin, Piedmont, 12 Jan. 1943, to E. Evans; also photograph of "Avarice" in her possession (the statue is no longer extant).

58. Note 55 above; and Mrs. Henry W. Howell, Jr., librarian, Frick Art Reference Library, New York, 12 Sept. 1952, to E. Evans.

59. Note 58 above; also W. D. Jewett, Paris, to Mrs. J. Howard Smith, 23 Jan. 1912; and W. J. Fulton, Paris, 22 Aug. 1951, to E. Evans. Besides the "Grieg" and "Diana," two other bronzes, so far unnamed, exist with the Jewett materials in Paris.

60. V. C. Scott O'Connor, *Travels in the Pyrenees* (London, 1913), pp. 56, 78, 128.

61. Mrs. Henry Howell, Jr., as in note 58 above.

62. Collection Mrs. C. Janin, Piedmont.

63. Date uncertain; probably before 1910 (photo, coll. Mrs. C. Janin).

64. Burned at Rancho Marcelino, Santa Barbara County, July 1947. It is uncertain whether this head (c. 1907-08) was ever cast.

65. "Ideal Head" (c. 1908) added to collections of Calif. Hist. Soc. by Mrs. C. Janin, March 1952.

66. Mrs. John D. Pond, dir., George Walter Vincent Smith Art Gallery, Springfield, 19 Feb. 1941, to E. Evans.
67. Mrs. C. Janin, Piedmont, 27 March 1946, to E. Evans.
68. O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. xii, 149, 151; San Francisco *Examiner*, 30 March 1926.
69. Howard D. Smith, San Francisco, 27 April 1952, to E. Evans.
70. San Francisco *Examiner*, *ibid.*; and *California Monthly*, May 1926, p. 534.
71. Count Emmanuel Longin-Spindler, New Orleans, 18 May 1946, to E. Evans.
72. Ch. E. Brousse, Perpignan, 15 July 1948, to E. Evans.
73. The last portfolio of sketches is believed to have been burned in 1947. Notes 46 and 64 above.

Stephen Sears Smith

Hardwood Lumber Dealer of San Francisco

Including Transcripts of Some of His Letters

By PAUL ODELL CLARK

INTRODUCTION. — The value of the following series of letters lies in their separating one individual, with the unidentifying surname of Smith, from the anonymous hundred-thousand emigrants to San Francisco in 1850. In so doing the letters throw light on how a representative, but unsung, citizen of that time — a stable, civic-minded tradesman, gold-seeker, but not gold-miner — might have been expected to respond to the west's anything-but-stable conditions.

No nobler motive than excitement had attracted Stephen Smith to California originally. In a letter dated April 1, 1849, he says that his girl friends in Sag Harbor, New York, had filled his mind with stories of their departed lovers, some of whom were destined never to return. He himself was then thirty years old and, as he later apologized to his sister back home, a very adventuresome man. Established in no fixed trade, he thought he could well afford to investigate this great country to the west.

Stephen Sears Smith was born November 11, 1819, in Haddam, Connecticut. His father was James Smith (1787-1853), a farmer and tailor; James was in turn the son of Jonathan, one of the descendants of John and Simon Smith, the latter an original settler of Haddam about 1660. Through the marriage of Stephen's grandfather Jonathan to Rebecca Brainerd, the Smiths were closely connected with almost all the important local families of Middlesex County, names that are still familiar in Connecticut history.

Stephen Smith's mother was Dorothy Sears (1793-1857), daughter of Stephen and Phebe Knowles Sears. A portion at least of the Sears's 150-acre homestead in Maromas (part of Middletown, Conn.) eventually passed into the hands of Stephen's mother, for her daughter Frances

Drusilla — the “Dear Sister” of the letters — lived there with her husband Samuel J. Hubbard. When Stephen’s niece, Frances (Fanny) Dolly Hubbard, married George G. Whitmore, the Sears place passed into new hands again, and was afterwards sold. Stephen’s letters are now in the possession of Mr. Chauncey E. Whitmore of Middle Haddam, grandson of Frances D. Hubbard and grandnephew of Stephen Smith.

Little can be learned about Stephen’s earliest years. A note, written in 1826 to his father by the schoolmaster James Tibbals, would seem to indicate that Stephen was either sent to school in Middletown or was privately tutored; the young man was well, said Tibbals, and appeared to be satisfied — in fact, no mention of home had been heard since his arrival. But from this date until the spring of 1841 Stephen’s life must be conjectured; what is certain is that he spent most of the time helping his father “farm it.” Whether Stephen’s two older brothers also assisted in the work is not known. In any event, Stephen’s education beyond the elementary level was interrupted by a breakdown in his health — overstudy, according to his account in late life. Still, he applied to and was accepted as a student by Westfield Academy in Westfield, Massachusetts, in 1841, when he was in his twenty-second year, making him rather older than his classmates.

Several letters of this period describe Stephen’s experiences at Westfield. He found the town “to be quite a smart little place having two Hotels two printing offices at which papers are published three Meeting houses, stores shops etc.” As for the academy, it was not so large, he said, as the academy at Haddam but it had many more scholars, a majority of whom were ladies. But life at Westfield was not altogether pleasant for Stephen; his age may have been awkward for him; he may also have been needed at home the next winter — whatever the reason, he withdrew after the summer term and enrolled in the newly-organized Brainerd Academy at Haddam. This institution, to which Stephen had compared Westfield, was founded by Nehemiah and John Brainerd and had opened its doors in the winter of 1840. A contemporary described it as being built of gneiss stone from the Brainerds’ own quarry and as having “large rooms for study and recitation.”¹

Some of Stephen’s literary compositions from this period survive, but they have no merit except as they confirm the general tenor of the times, and the sort of prepared composition that was fashionable in the early-Victorian 1840’s. The usual sentiments prevail in the usual atmosphere of romantic churchyard settings and dreamy visions. In like manner,

Smith's epistolary style, with its rhetorical flourishes and affectedly elevated tone, was largely owing to the principles of composition taught at the academy. In a wider sense, the striving to achieve a cultured and genteel air was common to the period and affected even the greatest of native writers. In Stephen Smith's case, it robbed him of the ability to report as spontaneously as we could wish the events he witnessed in his travels, especially, of course, in San Francisco. His letter of September 1, 1851, in the midst of the first vigilante committee's activities, is a case in point:

Last Sunday afternoon I was lounging on my little iron bedstead and blankets when Bob. Wiggins came in and told me that they had Two men hung in the street just above — I thought of it a minute and knew they deserved it and then kept on smoking my cigar (for I smoke here) — nor went near the place of execution —

The apology for smoking is a telling remark; while wanting to suggest the shocking facts of life in the city, Smith was concerned at the same time to appear strong enough to resist their lure. His letters home, like most letters for home consumption, were just as proper as he supposed they ought to be.

Schooling ended for Stephen by the spring of 1843, for he then entered business with his two brothers, James and Edwin. James had settled in New York as a commission merchant, and Edwin had a store in Sag Harbor, Long Island, his home when he was not traveling. The westward movement induced the brothers to open a similar store in western New York, where, the letters show, they speculated in grains, lumber, and staple articles generally. That part of the state had been greatly stimulated commercially by the opening of the Erie Canal only twenty years before. The spirit that settled the west was characterized by Stephen then:

It is surprising how many of our eastern People youngsters like myself scatter not only over this western country but over the whole habitable Globe — We young Yankees are a reckless venturesome daring set — and most of the business of Western New York and in fact of all the western states is done by persons pretty much like Edwin and myself —

The winter of 1844 found him in Sag Harbor, where he and Edwin awaited the arrival of lumber they had purchased in New York the year before. And this pattern was repeated the next year; but in 1845 Edwin's store burned down at considerable loss to the brothers — a misfortune which kept Stephen in Sag Harbor.

Between April and September 1849, he heard a great deal about the excitement of the discovery of gold in California from the girls in Sag Harbor; he wrote to his sister on April first that they had been left "in quite a bad fix" by the exodus from town. Another man of Sag Harbor, Prentice Mulford, has left a vivid description of what the gold rush meant to his home town; since he did not leave until 1856, Mulford, a youth in his teens in 1849, had good opportunity to observe the changes that took place at the middle of the century:

As the winter of '48 waned the companies, one after another, set sail for the land of gold. The Sunday preceding they listened to farewell sermons at church. . . . They were admonished from the pulpit to behave temperately, virtuously, wisely, and piously. How seriously they listened. . . . How few returned. How few married the girl of that period's choice. How little weighed the words of the minister a year afterward. . . .

The young Argonaut, church being dismissed, took his little stiff, shiny plug and went home to the last Sunday tea. . . .²

If Stephen had not mentioned that he sailed for California with his fellow-townsmen Stephen J. Field (their leaving together was coincidental), we should not have known perhaps any details about the voyage. From Field's *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California*, we learn that the steamer *Crescent City* left New York on November 13, 1849, and arrived in Chagres in about a week. "There," says Field, "we took small boats and were poled up the river by Indians to Cruces, at which place we mounted mules and rode over the mountain to Panama."³ Stephen wrote that they left Panama December sixth; there was sickness aboard and suffering from malarial fever. One of his Sag Harbor friends died at Acapulco, and he himself owed the preservation of his life to Field and a "Dr. Smith from New Orleans." In a letter dated January 13, 1850, from San Francisco, Stephen admits how ill he had been: "I came about as near dying as 90 is to 100. . . . Stephen J. Field attended me day and night and did for me then and since all he could do (God bless him). . . ." According to Field their steamer, the *California*, with more than 1200 passengers, docked at San Francisco the evening of December 28, 1849.*

It seems likely that Stephen Smith was one of the two persons Field roomed with on reaching the city, as Field would not have left stranded

*In the membership list of the Society of California Pioneers, Stephen Sears Smith's arrival is dated December 27.

an acquaintance from Haddam — one who was recuperating from Panama fever and was afflicted, besides, with “one big bile [boil] that caused [him] more real pain than all the fever.” Field barely mentions him in his *Reminiscences*, and Stephen wrote home little about Field except what he had heard second-hand about his success.

By the end of April 1850, Stephen had opened a grocery store “at the foot of Mission street” in the so-called Happy Valley; he had a quasi-partner, “George,” whose surname is not mentioned. Indeed, as we noticed above, Smith neglects or evades letting himself be the graphic reporter he might have been. None the less, this common-sense restraint redeems the correspondence for us, as it must have for Smith’s sister and brother-in-law. Gold may have been thrusting wealth on some miners, but Smith realized that his way to wealth lay in a substantial business. His health left him no choice. And there is room for the man who stands apart: “Going to see all the Eliphants and all the lions,” he says, “gets people into just about all the difficulties they get into — I never see any Eliphants, Lions or big animals — and when I find [a] crowd trying to hunt one up I always keep out of the crowd — ”

Though we have read many other impressions of San Francisco, Stephen Smith’s add variety to our knowledge of the city. Another pair of eyes is opened to its sights, and occasionally his observations sparkle with the light of the unexpected or unconventional. The climate is healthful, prices are outrageously inflated, the Chinese are good citizens, gambling houses are vicious (but attractive?), and so on. Few individuals are mentioned by name: the Presbyterian parson Mr. Albert Williams and his wife are notable exceptions. It was to their church that Stephen allied himself when he first arrived.⁴

The letters tell their own story through August 1851. In the middle of that month Smith hinted that he planned to sail home by way of the Orient. Two months later he booked passage, one of three or four passengers, on the clipper *N. B. Palmer*, which was generally conceded the smartest clipper then on the seas. Smith’s sailing on it is certainly the high spot of his letters in some respects. Again, luckily, the voyage can be documented beyond the letters by the *Recollections* of the master of the *Palmer*, Capt. Charles P. Low.⁵ Departure was delayed because of difficulty of securing a crew, but “by the seventh of October,” Low recalled, “we had enough men to handle the ship and we sailed for Shanghai.” Stephen Smith gives the date as October 8, 1851, just as he differs on the number of passengers aboard; another discrepancy is the date of

arrival in Shanghai, the captain giving November 24th, "lumber merchant" Smith the 25th. The captain is perhaps not to be doubted in these matters, but Smith was not the sort of person to be inaccurate and he wrote a month after the event. Smith's letter from Canton of December 27 mentions among other things "a severe gale," and his comment about it testifies to the latent romanticism of his nature. It was, he wrote, "for the first time" that he "knew the sublimity of a storm at sea." Captain Low's account rather destroys this poetic figure of a Smith at sea:

On the fifteenth of November we were running with a fresh breeze from the east, when I noticed the weather ahead looked very squally and the sky very black and threatening. . . . My passenger, Mr. Smith, said he would like to see a typhoon. I told him I would show him all I wanted to see of one . . . at six P.M. there was no doubt that I was running right into a hurricane. Mr. Smith said he had seen enough, and went below, drenched to the skin from a sea that toppled over the quarter deck.⁶

The log of the *N. B. Palmer* informs us that the travelers sailed for home January 9, 1852; on February 19 they rounded the Cape, and on April 2 arrived in New York.⁷

Three months later Stephen Smith was married to Cornelia Josephine Child (b. 1826/27), of a Higganum, Connecticut, family well acquainted with Stephen's. His former sweetheart, Ann Cone, had married while he was in San Francisco. Josephine was the daughter of Hezekiah Child and Concurrence Seward Wilcox Child. Her grandfather James Kelly Child was one of the most famous shipbuilders on the River.⁸ The honeymooners spent July traveling through western New York and as far northwest as Saginaw, Michigan; Stephen also prospected lumber in Canada after the two settled down in Buffalo, where they lived until about 1860. Stephen became in Buffalo what we should now call a contractor, building several houses, which yielded him an income for years, and he dealt in lumber and building materials.

The outbreak of war perhaps determined the Smiths' move to California. Stephen had of course pleasant memories of his first stay there; in fact, only the reluctance of the Childs to see Josephine go so far away had kept them in Buffalo for eight years. Thus Stephen went west a second time, leaving Josie and their son Frank at home — that is, in Higganum.

In San Francisco Stephen opened a lumber yard at 111 Market Street. As Bancroft wrote, hardwood lumber was exceedingly scarce in California: ". . . hard, elastic wood, like the hickory and white oak of the

Atlantic slopes, is rare, and the scanty walnut, maple, wild cherry, and ash are too small for general use."⁹ Smith attempted to capitalize on this lack; but he had a hard job, even in the face of potential riches, in keeping his brothers interested and alert in his plans. They were jealous of him and he seemed domineering to them; and Stephen was close with his money. At least Edwin so complained; James, who had his own concerns to manage, was in any case not to be counted upon in business affairs. Eventually Stephen was forced to rely on his brother-in-law Hubbard and father-in-law Child to find sources of hardwood and to attend to its preparation and shipping. It is not necessary to review here the various manipulations Stephen Smith carried on to insure a steady supply of lumber from the east. Several famous clippers brought his freight, the *Garibaldi*, *I. F. Chapman*, *Cyclone*, *David Crockett*, and *Free Trade*, among others.

The importance of such a supply of lumber and wagon materials—*stuff*, to use the proper word—to California at this time cannot be measured. Not, by any means, that Smith was the only Stephen Smith in San Francisco—it was a common name—or the sole wholesale hardwood lumber dealer; but insofar as he represents a necessary enterprise and contributed to the mercantile development of the city he has his proper niche. Bancroft's account of the lumber industry in California continues:

Favored by the overland railway, business wagons are mostly brought from Michigan in pieces. Wheels and tongues are frequently made elsewhere, and white oak and hickory must be brought for the light vehicles made here, San Francisco with one third of the industry turning out about 500 wagons, 500 buggies, etc.¹⁰

Although they are exceptional instances, because they happened a decade earlier, the success of Henry Meiggs and of John M. Studebaker testifies to the urgent demand in San Francisco for both lumber and wagons, and wheelwrights and wagonmakers. Meiggs is credited by Samuel Upham with making a profit of \$50,000 on a shipload of lumber in July 1849.¹¹ Studebaker, who arrived in San Francisco in 1853, found immediate jobs awaiting him as a wagonmaker; and, like Smith, he realized that "hundreds and thousands of the pioneers who tried the mines never made a cent, but those who stuck to steady jobs at good wages and saved their money were doing well."¹² Smith of course had no such phenomenal prosperity as Meiggs or Studebaker; his aims were modest by comparison, and he began in the sixties when, as Bancroft notes, the

great demand for lumber and wagons had tapered off and local mills had begun to supply a larger share of the need, though hardwood was difficult enough still to come by. New England and New York lumber, the oak, ash, and hickory, short in supply in the west, commanded premium prices, however, and Stephen Sears Smith ("S.S.S.") was always anxious to have the best shipped to him. The felloes, axles, spokes, and other wagon stuff, as well as ax and pick handles, could also be made more cheaply in the shops and mills of Connecticut than in California; saw-mills and wheelwrights were common along the Connecticut River and shipment was relatively easy. Smith's specifications for wagon stuff are interesting figures of a now lost, or nearly lost, art.¹³

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. David D. Field, *The Genealogy of the Brainerd Family* (New York, 1857), p. 250.
2. *Prentice Mulford's Story* (New York, 1889), pp. 8-9.
3. Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California* (Not Published [n.p.], c1880), pp. 9-11 *passim*.
4. On Rev. Albert Williams, see his autobiography *A Pioneer Pastorate and Times* (San Francisco, 1879); and Clifford M. Drury, "The Beginnings of the Presbyterian Church on the Pacific Coast," *Pac. Hist. Rev.*, IX (June 1940), 200-201.
5. *Some Recollections by Captain Charles P. Low* (2d ed., Boston, 1906).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 116.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
8. On the Childs, see Elias Child, *Genealogy of the Child, Childs and Childe Families* (Utica, N. Y., 1881), pp. 703, 706.
9. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), VII, 76.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
11. Samuel Upham, *Notes of a Voyage to California . . .* (Philadelphia, 1878), pp. 145-46.
12. Albert Russel Erskine, *History of the Studebaker Corporation* (Chicago, [1918?]), p. 21.
13. In this connection, mention may be made of George Sturt's *The Wheelwright's Shop* (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1923), in which wagon-making, under conditions similar to those in mid-nineteenth century Connecticut, is recalled.

Cornerstone of the State Capitol

Its Discovery on October 15, 1952

By J. N. BOWMAN

ON MAY 15, 1861, THE CORNERSTONE of the capitol building in Sacramento was laid, but, after the death of the participants who left no records, the exact location of the stone remained unknown until October 15, 1952. Tradition placed the location at both the northwest and northeast corners; and tradition also had been responsible for the setting of a cardboard plaque (removed at the end, or just after the end, of World War I) on the inside of the walls of the northwest corner, indicating this as the location. The general literature seems strangely silent on the location, and the Sacramento *Union*¹ is the only newspaper of that day which gives the location — at the northwest corner.

Early in 1952, James S. Dean, director of finance, became curious as to the location, or, rather, as to the absence of any marker or plaque designating the location, and directed that a search be made. On the basis of the *Union's* location at the northwest corner, corroborated by tradition, excavation was made at that place, but between the buttresses² no stone could be found, nor could the state electricians' electronic pipe and metal detector record any reactions from a possible metal casket, after trials had been made on both the outside and inside of the corner. One fact of value, however, was found from the reading of the building specifications, viz., the distance down from the bottom of the first course of granite to the ground surface of 1861, or 13½ feet, as judged from the foundation granite blocks forming the bases of the buttresses.³

In the absence of written corroboration of the cornerstone's location as given by the *Union* reporter and by tradition, attention was directed to the records in the archives. Nothing was found as to the location of the stone, but there were several items which were of service in the chain of facts leading to its solution. Included were two bids for the cornerstone, Albert Ross being shown by the controller's register of warrants

to have been the successful bidder. His bid of \$90 gives the dimensions of the two stones forming the cornerstone: one, 4 feet long, 3 feet 4 inches wide and 18 inches thick; and the other, of the same length and breadth and "cut as required and on the ground ready to be laid."⁴ The controller's register of warrants also gives, as part of the expense of cornerstone-laying, the paid bill of \$32.75 for a copper casket, but with no data as to its size. The Union Saloon's bill of \$40.75 for champagne and glass (also in the archives) is another interesting item. It is marked correct for payment by the contractor, Michael Fennell, and is receipted, but no such item is found among the warrants of the register as having been paid by the state.

More definite details were found in the minutes of the capitol commission, which cover the period from 1860 to 1867.⁵ The specifications of July 30, 1860, give 7½ feet as the height of the brick wall above the ground level to the top of the "established ground" level, or levee, to be formed around the building, and this levee surface was to be 2 inches above the bottom of the first course of granite. The specifications of June 15, 1861, one month after the cornerstone was laid, were written by the commission to invite bids, when the contract with Michael Fennell was broken and the commission undertook to direct the erection. They mention that the established ground level is to be 2 inches "above the stone now set on the northeast corner of the building." The walls, up to this point, were all of brick, and the first block of the wall granite was not laid until October 19th, following the May when the cornerstone was laid; according to the *Union*, the setting of this granite was at 10 o'clock in the morning by Michael Henverin.⁶ The "stone" of the June 15, 1861, specifications could, then, refer only to the cornerstone laid on May 15th.

A third set of specifications, dated May 19, 1862, was written with some changes, among them the raising of the established ground level 6 feet because of the four heavy floods of the winter of 1861-62, which overflowed the levee banks of the American River and inundated the city, the capitol grounds, the foundation and walls. This change placed the "stone now set on the northeast corner" 6 feet below the established ground level, or 70 inches below the bottom of the first course of wall granite. It also checks with the 13½ feet from the granite to the ground surface found at the excavation at the northwest corner.

It must be noted that the cornerstone was always to be underground, either 2 inches, or, by the 1862 specifications, 72 inches.

The *Proceedings* of the grand lodge of Masons of California, which laid the stone, give the northeast corner as the location. Whether this "northeast" was a typographical error, or was incorrectly copied, could not be answered since the lodge records were destroyed in the 1906 San Francisco fire.

Some weeks later, during a search for other information, an unpublished investigation made in 1868 into the construction of the capitol was found.⁷ The chairman was Sen. N. Greene Curtis, who had been grand master and official at the laying of the cornerstone seven years before. Among the witnesses was Michael Fennell, the contractor when the stone was laid. In his testimony he referred to the west wall as "that was where I laid the corner-stone." His statement should have weight, but unfortunately almost all of his other statements of "facts" were not verified by measurements made by the disinterested architects, engineers, contractors, stonemasons and others, thus throwing doubt on his location of the cornerstone.

The *Union* reporter mentions that the procession entered the grounds from 12th Street and crossed diagonally over to the northwest corner. The minutes of the city council indicate that 10th, 11th and 12th streets were improved at this time between J and L, so that either one of them could have been used by the procession. The photographs of the area during the erection indicate no impediments at either corner to interfere with the procession; 10th Street would have been the nearest street to the northwest corner. The street used was probably selected to give a longer route for the procession from 17-19 J Street or, perhaps, because important houses or places of business were located on 12th Street or on J between 11th and 12th.

The analysis of these data indicated the facts that (1) a cornerstone was laid, (2) on May 15, 1861, and (3) that it was at one of the north corners. Tradition, the *Union* reporter, and Fennell placed it at the northwest corner; but excavation and detectors, inside and outside, failed to locate the stone at this corner. For the northeast corner there was the tradition, the statement of the Masonic *Proceedings*, and the specifications of June 15, 1861. The northeast corner is the one used by Masonic lodges if there be no mitigating circumstance, causing the selection of another corner — and there is no record of such interference at either corner and the photographs taken during the construction days indicate fairly level ground in these areas. The specifications of June 15, 1861, appear to be the most authentic record, on the assumption that the

"stone" mentioned refers to the cornerstone. From the specifications of 1862, the top of the cornerstone should be found 70 inches below the bottom of the first course of wall granite; the Albert Ross bid indicates the top- or capstone as 18 inches, but with no indicated thickness of the main stone to contain the copper casket. On this basis the electronic metal finders should locate the casket between $7\frac{1}{2}$ and $8\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the first course of granite.

Some additional data were found in a story by the *Union* reporter published two days before the laying of the stone:⁸ that the capstone was 4 feet 2 inches long, 3 feet 5 inches wide, and 11 inches thick, and that the lower stone had in it a cavity 28x18x12 inches. If he reported correctly, the casket should then be somewhere between 7 and 8 feet down from the granite course.

On October 15, 1952, an excavation was made between the northeast buttresses, and Wilfred G. Hunt of the state electrical shop was ready with his metal detectors. The buttresses were so built that the corner of the original wall was not visible, but about 8 feet down he was able with a screwdriver to dig between the buttress bricks and, in so doing, he uncovered a different-colored material; widening this crack about half an inch revealed a granite corner. A little lower he found its bottom; higher up he found a crack between two stones; and, higher still, the top of the granite. This top he found to be $69\frac{3}{4}$ inches below the bottom of the first course of wall granite instead of the 70 of the specifications. The thickness of the top cap, $11\frac{1}{8}$ inches, corroborated the thickness given by the *Union* reporter, whose dimensions of the cavity fit into the thickness of the lower block, 18 inches.

The official of the state architect's office permitted the removal of a brick from each buttress; this revealed the granite extending in both directions the length of the removed bricks.

The length and breadth of the stones have not been learned, nor whether the long axis is north and south, as would be expected for a Masonic-laid stone; nor whether there are any carvings, symbols, or wording on either side of either stone, nor whether the copper casket is actually in the lower block. But the conformity of the location of the stone below the granite course with the 1861 specifications, the conformity of the thickness of the blocks with the Ross bid and with the *Union* reporter's data, and with the statement of the Masonic *Proceedings*, and especially with the 1861 specifications as to the northeast cor-

ner, lead to the conclusion that the granite found on October 15, 1952, is the cornerstone laid on May 15, 1861.

There is a tradition that February 22, 1861, was the day originally proposed for the laying of the cornerstone; May 15 was selected because it was the second day of the meeting of the grand lodge of Masons.⁹ The procession was composed of Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges, Sacramento fire departments, and other organizations. It was to start from the grand lodge hall at 17-19 J Street at 12 o'clock, but it was delayed about an hour and a half. The procession moved east on J to 12th, down 12th to the capitol grounds and then to the east side of the northeast corner, where a covered platform had been erected for the officials, state officers and members of the legislature, and where, about "50 yards" to the north, another platform had been erected and fitted with chairs, for the use of the ladies. At the corner and between the platforms was the derrick to place the capstone on the cornerstone.

Senator (former governor) S. M. Latham declined the request to be the orator of the day, so S. M. Wilson, a San Francisco attorney, gave the oration instead. As is usual on such occasions, the grand secretary read the list of items placed in the casket,¹⁰ among them being a lithographic view of the proposed new state capitol.¹¹

The officers then descended from the official platform and deposited the casket "in the cavity which had been prepared" for it while the band played "Hail Columbia." The cement was spread and the capstone was lowered, at three separate intervals, into place over the lower stone of the same size.

A banquet at the state agricultural pavilion was held that evening from 7:30 until after 1:00 a.m., with the usual feasting and speeches.

The total cost to the state for the laying of the cornerstone was \$735.00:¹²

A. A. Bennett, Awning, seats, platform, etc.	\$300.00	
St. George Hotel, Board of S. M. Wilson and family	30.00	
Albert Ross, corner-stone, setting derrick etc.	96.75	
H. T. Holmes, 3 bbls. cement	18.00	
G. H. Swinerton, copper box for corner-stone	32.75	
W. T. Knox, Music	100.00	
Reuben Clark, use of 4 doz. chairs	\$6.00	
carriages, horses	30.00	
labor, leveling ground	115.00	
use of chairs, carting	6.50	\$157.50

While the building was under construction, it was generally known where the cornerstone was located and that it was to be, and was, underground when the terraces, forming the levee around the structure, were made in 1872. With the passing of years, the memory of its location passed with the passing of the participants, who knew the location but who left no known records of that fact. A plaque is now placed on the east side of the northeast corner, indicating the location of the long-lost stone.

NOTES

1. Sacramento *Union* (hereinafter called *Union*), May 16, 1861, p. 3, col. 2.
2. The buttresses at the northwest and northeast corners were under construction on Nov. 1, 1866 (*see* minutes of capitol commission, in state archives). They were erected to strengthen these corners because some subsidence of the walls had been noticed, especially at the northwest corner.
3. The height of the walls was measured from the ground level and not from the cement foundation, due to the making of the contemplated "established ground" or levee protection around the building. The level at which 10th and M streets intersected was the basis for the building of the foundation, which was about 2-3 feet below the ground surface.
- It is interesting also to note that in the 1860's-1880's the "basement" was the present first floor, and the "principal floor" was that of the two houses of the legislature — the present second floor. For 20 years the present basement was the capitol garbage-can for "ashes, sweepings, paper, refuse from the restaurant, cigar stumps." In 1888, between 800 and 1000 tons of debris were removed at a cost of \$1300 and the present basement came into existence (report of secretary of state, 1888, pp. 5 ff; controller's register of warrants, April 29, 1889, in state archives).
4. In state archives.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Union*, Oct. 19, 1861, p. 2, col. 1. By Dec. 3, 1862, the first course of granite was nearly completed around the entire wall. (*Ibid.*, Dec. 2, 1863, p. 3, col. 1.)
7. Appendix to assembly journal, vol. 846, pp. 221 ff, in state archives.
8. *Union*, May 13, 1861, p. 3, col. 1.
9. As stated by Gov. John G. Downey (*ibid.*, May 16, 1861, p. 3, col. 6). It was at this convention that the seat of the grand lodge was moved from Sacramento to San Francisco. The letter of acceptance of the grand master to perform the ceremony is in the state archives.
10. Grand Lodge, *Proceedings*, 1861, pp. 231-37. The *Union* reporter, May 16, 1861, p. 3, col. 6, gave the same list (items unnumbered), and mentioned also the

military laws of the U. S., and Protestant and Catholic prayer books. These may have been included in the tome of the categories of the grand secretary. The reporter further indicated 3000 as the number of people at the ceremony.

11. In the Sacramento *Directory* of 1871 is a photograph of the capitol — evidently a copy of the one in the cornerstone, for photographs of the grounds in 1872 show the terraces already in existence and without the added stairs at the west entrance.

12. Minutes of the commission, May 21, 1861; and controller's register of war-wants, Sept. 2, 1861.

Dr. John S. Griffin's Mail, 1846-53

Transcribed, with Introduction and Notes

By VIOLA LOCKHART WARREN

(Continued)

PART II (Concluded)

From Dr. Murray's letter of October 10, 1848 (Doc. 39 in Sept. QUARTERLY), it is apparent that Dr. Griffin was finally granted a leave and that Rob Murray took post at the Los Angeles hospital during his absence. John McH. Hollingsworth reported Dr. Murray's arrival at the Pueblo on June 27, 1848, and the doctor served as judge advocate there on August fourth.⁵¹ He was still in Los Angeles on August eleventh. Dr. Griffin spent some of his leave in Monterey, which, it is reasonable to suppose, included a visit to the gold fields.

"Old Sanchez" was probably Juan Sanchez of the Santa Clara Rancho near Santa Barbara; and "Mr. Reed" was William Reed, who bought the San Miguel Mission ranch in 1846 but was murdered with his entire family in December 1848. William H. Warner of the topographical engineers opened a store in Coloma in partnership with Lieut. W. T. Sherman and Col. Richard B. Mason, Norman Bestor as clerk, but Warner was killed by hostile Indians in the Feather River area on September 26, 1849. Lieut. Henry W. Halleck, an engineer with the 3rd U. S. artillery, served as secretary of state for California governors Mason and Riley, and became commander of the army in 1862.

Forty-six recruits from New York, all suffering with scurvy, arrived in the *Huntress* in September 1848, under command of Capt. Rufus Ingalls. Ingalls became brigadier general and quartermaster general in 1862. The volunteers who came up in the *Ohio* were the soldiers of Stevenson's regiment who had been stationed in Lower California.⁵² They were now to be mustered out of the service.

Dr. Murray's paying patients must have been civilians and army officers and their families, to whom an army surgeon was permitted to pre-

sent bills.⁵³ "The Doña & Manuelita" were Doña Angustias Jimeno and her daughter, with whom Murray, Sherman, Halleck and Ord took their meals. Dr. Ord later married the Doña. "The old Negrita" in Los Angeles was probably the hospital matron, listed on the muster-roll as "Urbana."

"The old Commodore" was William Bransford Shubrick, formerly in command of the Pacific squadron. Colonel Stevenson was delayed by the early onset of winter in the mines. He and lieutenants Bonnycastle and Hollingsworth attempted to get out on foot, after selling the horses, and a wagon that belonged to the army. Stevenson was arrested and tried for this indiscretion.

40. Letter from Major Thomas Swords
Washington, D.C.

to Griffin, Los Angeles
Nov. 24, 1848

My Dear Doctor —

I was expecting until within 4 or 5 days, to have had the pleasure of seeing you instead of writing, as I have all my arrangements made to leave in the Steamer on the 1st Dec. Gen'l Jesup told me some time since that he wished me to go back to California, get all the information he would require, return as soon as possible and make out a report for him as to the operation of our Dept., resources of the country &c. I accordingly made all my arrangements and was to have left here on the 21st of this month. On the 20th he received a letter stating that the steamer would be very crowded, and advising all officers that could defer their departure to do so, until the next steamer should leave. He then told me that I had better wait, to which I readily consented, so I now doubt if I go at all. The fact is, I believe, he has got used to my ways and does not wish to change me from the office, so somebody else may have the pleasure of the trip. The arrival of the mail steamer will make exciting times for you, especially as she takes out so many officers, by whom I hope some of you will be relieved and soon get home. Dr. Lawson said he has sent out medical officers enough for the Territory and expects you to be relieved which must depend upon the officer in command, so if you do not get away immediately you may do so after the arrival of the 2 Infantry. . . . I called upon Owen & Evans, they said the clothes first ordered by you had been taken and paid for by somebody else and that they would wait until after you should have received those last sent before payment. . . . I called at the Adj't. Gen'l's Office and there found your claim against Cloud's estate, filed with his papers. No administrator having been appointed, the estate cannot be settled. I wrote your brother in law, Gen'l Johnston, both at Louisville, care of Col. Preston, and at Galveston, told him I was going to California and would see you & that no administrator had been appointed for Cloud's estate, but that he might find out something about it from Major Walker. I have not yet heard from him.

... I am afraid you will never get your trunk and books without you come for them. I also left some things with the QuarterMaster at St. Louis which I cannot get and suppose they have been stolen. I have repeatedly written for your things as well as for my own...

You will, no doubt, be astonished at the death of Gen'l Kearny. He had the dysentery, the consequence of the yellow fever at Vera Cruz. Old Benton will swear he killed him which is not the case as his speech was kept from the Gen'l for fear of irritating him. The Gen'l's death is very much regretted. Mrs. Kearny is to live in St. Louis. One son goes to West Point, the other into the navy. I send you a copy of Fremont's trial...

What think you of our next President? Old Zach has gone in with a rush and will I hope make an excellent President. I have been in Washington long enough to become heartily disgusted with politicians.

How comes on the gallant Captain Stevenson, has he determined to marry the fair Isadora or to join his Regt? The fair Californians will I fear, have their noses put out of joint by the arrival of some of our ladies. Dr. Walker has just arrived here. He is trying to settle Moores & Hammond's accounts. Love and little Dr. Simpson were also here, are now in Virginia on leave.

The expectation of my coming must not prevent your writing. I assure you it affords me much pleasure to hear from you.

As ever Dear Doctor yours
Tho. Swords.

I may be out in the next steamer so do not be surprised if you soon see me. Remember me to Smith, Davidson & Stoneman and any of the friends who may recollect me.

A letter to Dr. Griffin from John E. Noble at Leavenworth, dated November 21, 1847, says, in part, "When I reached Leavenworth, there was a box containing a frock coat and pr. of pantaloons for you from Owen Evans & Co. The box, Mayer told me, had got there soon after you left and was still lying there. There being no chance of your ever getting them, I took them, as the coat fitted me so nearly as to make it certain you could not wear it. I wrote to O. E. & Co. that I had done it and will pay them."

While traveling from Sutter's Fort to San Francisco on August 3, 1847, Maj. J. H. Cloud, paymaster, had been thrown from his horse. He died of his injuries. Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, who married Dr. Griffin's sister Eliza, fought in the Confederate army and was killed at Shiloh. The Hon. William Preston was senator from Kentucky, Dr. Griffin's home state.

Capt. Benjamin D. Moore and Lieut. Thomas Hammond were killed

at the battle of San Pascual. Lieut. John Love was regimental quartermaster. "Little Doctor Simpson" was R. F. Simpson, who drew straws with Dr. Griffin at Socorro, New Mexico, on October 6, 1846, to determine which one would go on to California.⁵⁴

General Kearny died at the home of his brother-in-law, Meriwether Lewis Clark, in St. Louis, Missouri, on October 31, 1848.

41. Letter from Dr. Rob Murray
Monterey

to Griffin, Los Angeles
January 2, 1849

Many happy returns my dear Doctor of the joyous season. to us poor fellows here in California there is not much joyousness certainly but we must make the best of it. Your fate, I am afraid is sealed for some months yet. Probably in the spring you will be able to get up North. Here we have news that the Steamer left the U.S. in October. The Army Store Ship Chili left on 6th Augt. The 2nd Infy to come to California, to get here in the Spring. I sent you by Ingalls your spurs. We had a large New Years ball last night & had a splendid collection of girls. Miss Manuelita looked very prettily. She sends muchas espresiones & says she thinks of you very often. The Doña also remembers you & often speaks of you. The mail is about off & I must close. Dr. Ord is here and speaks of writing to you by this mail. Write to me. Yours very truly

Rob Murray

Ord has made about \$300 last month at the Upper Pueblo. You can do better than that at the Lower Pueblo. Gold is going up in price. It now sells readily for 12c per ounce. In Mazatlan it brought 16 c. Woodworth came down yesterday on a pasear. He is now enjoying his year's leave for travelling in South America. He thinks Upper California affords more attractions than L.A. & is speculating at San Francisco & the Placer. He is now in my room & sends his best love to you. . . .

Lieut. Selim E. Woodworth, an officer on the *Warren*, had been made acting master of the *Anita*, and had been sent to collect recruits, move refugees, etc.

42. Letter from Lt. Wm. Tecumseh Sherman,
Monterey

to Griffin, Los Angeles
Jany 10, 1848 [1849]

My Dear Friend.

The mail will start tomorrow South, but I cannot believe it will get through for it has been raining for some days back and at this moment is blowing great guns — the worst storm is raging I have seen since we were off Cape Horn. Still this letter may get through to you, and I must sum up the little counts since my last letter to you. Not a word has reached us from below since Smith's letter brought the information of Major Graham's arrival at the Colorado. Nor have we heard

of the Southampton or Euphemia since they sailed nor has Ord got back. So you all below are perfectly lost to us, but I hope you are snugly ensconced in some quiet chimney corner with some of old Vino's best to keep out the damp driving storm.

Warner and Bestor are still up at Sutters both getting sick I suppose. Fulsom Hardie & Stevenson at San Francisco — Dr. Perry will I think be discharged unless orders soon be recd from Washington concerning him.

Burton & Stevenson are at the Redoubt — Halleck in his cottage — Murray gone on a pasear to San Francisco. Dr. Ord here for the time being acting in his stead — I am most comfortably situated at the Doñas — all the family group round the fire in my room and we get along cosily together. Manuela is a little sick from cold, enough to make her more interesting. She is faithful to Bestor I have no doubt. In that Stevenson dont stand a chance though he be learning to sing and thumb the Guitar. Old Richard the 1st (Mason) is in his old quarters living with the family of Palacioa former Governor of Lower California, a very respectable family indeed.

I believe I have run over all our military family which is small indeed.

Hollingsworth is here, arrived four days ago from the mines, thoroughly disgusted, is waiting for the first steamer to go home. Says he may possibly come to Los Angeles first, but why can't devine. He says he wouldn't go through the labor and privations of the past three months for all the Gold in the Placer. He says Stevenson & Bonnycastle are of a like mind with him and that they are on the way via Sutters for this place.

Hollingsworth *footed* it from the Placer to Monterey. It is true that Stevenson sold a public wagon he had borrowed of Marcy not for profit but because he was compelled to abandon it. Col. M. will not sanction the procedure, but will cause the wagon to be reclaimed, unless Stevenson will buy it back. Hollingsworth says it's all false that Stevenson's party took cattle along the road without paying for them. The Country is full of such rumors and they are generally credited.

I hope soon the Express Mail will get to running again so that we may hear more frequently. Murray will be back in six or seven days and will by the next mail give you the professional news of San Francisco. Nothing in the medical way is doing here, save a few colds &c. We are exceedingly anxious to hear from you, so write at length. I take it for granted that you want to get to San Francisco with Smith. If I can effect it you may rely upon my trying to do so but should I not succeed you must not think it for want of deep interest in your welfare. Give my best regards to Maj. G. to Campbell and the officers of my acquaintance. I take it for granted that Smith and Davidson are off before this can reach you.

Sincerely yr friend

W. T. Sherman

Lieut. William Tecumseh Sherman came with the 3rd U. S. artillery and was acting asst. adj. general for Col. Mason. He became brigadier

general in 1863 and commander of the army in 1869. He returned to the east in the winter of 1849, bringing with him the two young sons of Doña Angustias Jimeno to be entered in Georgetown College. The Doña gave him a bag of gold dust with which to pay their transportation and tuition.

Maj. Lawrence Pike Graham commanded four companies of dragoons in Mexico, bringing them overland after the war from Chihuahua to California. They arrived at Warner's Ranch on December 29, 1848. With him came Maj. Daniel H. Rucker, Col. Cave J. Coutts, and Lieut. R. P. Campbell.

Lieut. Edwin O. C. Ord came with the 3rd U. S. artillery and constructed the fort and barracks at Monterey. He was commander of the department of California in 1868. Maj. James A. Hardie of the 3rd U. S. artillery commanded three companies of Stevenson's volunteers at San Francisco. Capt. J. L. Folsom was assistant quartermaster at San Francisco.

Henry Stanton Burton had just returned from La Paz where he commanded the occupation forces. Francisco Palacio, ex-governor of Lower California, had come with the flood of refugees from the south and spent the rest of his life in Monterey.

"Old Vino" was Don Luis Vignes, resident of Los Angeles since 1838, and pioneer in the planting of vineyards and making of wine.

43. Letter from Col. J. D. Stevenson,
Monterey

to Griffin, Los Angeles,
February 7, 1849.

My Dear Doc

I am here on a visit for a few days and avail myself of this opportunity to write you and request that you will on your way up with your Caballada collect or dispose of some of the animals I have on the road. Holly left me at the mines for the purpose of going down to Santa Barbara to collect them but when he reached here he found employment in the Quartermasters Department and has remained ever since. He heard at the Publo San Josa that some of the animals that were left at Davises had been stolen and driven up to the Pueblo and sold there. I was to have given Holly one third the proceeds of the sale of all the animals he brought up and if vaqueros were hired they were to be paid from the gross amount of sales before the assessor as well as all the expenses that were incurred upon the road. I am very willing to allow you the same which will pay very well for the trouble and cover some of the expense and losses you may incur with your own. If you do not feel like taking charge of this matter for me can you not hire some person to come up with and under your direction. I do not feel like abandoning such valuable property for I assure you every mule no matter how mean is worth

at San Francisco from two to three hundred dollars and horses in like proportions. The animals left have all my brand a star with S in center on left fore shoulder. The first is at the Ranch of Don Carlos Carrillo, a grey or roan mule, was left by Bonny. The ranch is some 13 miles below San Bonaventura. Foster will give you the name. A note written to Don Carlos requesting him to have the mule at Santa Barbara about the time you pass through will, I have no doubt, get the mule particularly if you promise liberal payment for bringing him up. The next are two mares (very fine ones) and one yoke of oxen at San Boniventura. These if Callahan is at home you will have no difficulty in getting. If he is not, I presume his father in law will deliver them. One fine large bay or brown mule and one yoke of oxen at Santa Barbara left with a negro man of some property named James Place. Two mules and one mare (I believe a white pinto the bell mare with bell on her neck) were left at or near Santa Rosa. Two mules and one mare ran off with packs just this side of Santa Inez — they have since been heard of at the Mission or the ranch near it. At Captain Dana's on my way up I left my Pico horse and the large Bay which you may remember with the sore back kept up in the corral at Los Angeles, and Bonny left the little black that Carrillo gave me and a yellow horse belonging to Colgan, one of my men, together with his saddle & bridle. This horse I have since purchased and as he was left by Bonny or Holly as my property, will of course be given up with the others. Bonny left four mules and Holly one jenny mule at the Captains — in all ten animals they will be worth if no others are recovered \$2500 in San Francisco or Pueblo San Josa. The mule left with the negro Place at Santa Barbara you will be quite sure to get as he is really a very reliable man. I enclose you a full authority in both English and Spanish to take and recover all animals & property belonging to me which you may find on your way up. If you have Vaqueros with you you will find no difficulty in examining the different Manadays & Calladas that may be in sight of the road as you come up. If I am so fortunate as to recover all I shall do very well but this I do not expect. I shall be content with any portion of them. You will of course bring up with you the black horse Smith left with you, the one he took from that d—— rascal who stole him from Bonny. I presume Smith has advised you of the state of the roads and perhaps the place to dispose of your animals. I should like to get mine to San Francisco where I shall go in a few days but I leave you to do as you please with them as if they were your own property. If you can give us any notice in advance of your departure and your stopping points perhaps some one of us may meet you here or at San Jose. Bonny is appointed 2nd Lt. in 4th Infy and ordered to join his Regt. immediately. I do not know whether he will accept or not as he is anxious to go home. I presume he will accept. Sherman informs me that you have leave to come up and I therefor hope soon to have the pleasure of seeing you. It will really seem like old times to meet you with Smith, Davy & Stoneman once more. I really hope I shall not be deprived of this anticipated pleasure. You must of late have received so many letters from San

Francisco that it leaves me nothing new to inform you of. Please remember me to all friends and believe me as ever most truly & sincerely

Your friend &

J. D. Stevenson

Please write and let me know if you will accept this commission for me that in case you do not I may make some other arrangements. As these mules and the mare were from the Mission of San Boneventura you had better enquire for them there as some of them may have found their way back.

Colonel Stevenson had lost fifty-one animals out of a caballada of sixty-four, on his recent ill-fated trip to the mines — all between Los Angeles and Monterey. Now they were to be gathered up again, from Carrillo and Callahan and the mission at Ventura, from William Heath Davis and James Place at Santa Barbara, from the Santa Inez Mission and from Capt. William G. Dana at San Luis Obispo. The gold rush had put an end to California's careless disregard of livestock.

44. Letter from Captain A. J. Smith
San Francisco

to Griffin, Los Angeles
March 3d, 1849

Dear Griffin

I am almost confident this cannot reach Los Angeles before you leave for this upper country, but you will probably meet it on the road. . . . The first steamer (California) entered this harbor on the 28th of Feby bringing a host of passengers, about 400. Gen. Smith & lady, Major Ogden & lady, Major Canby & 1. besides a number of staff officers that were disembarked at Monterey. Gen. S. came out to command the 3rd or Pacific Division and Col. M. remains as Gov. until the arrival of Genl Riley who is expected by the 1st of Apr. with his Regt. . . . I am very unfortunate, and am afraid, before the 1st of July I shall have no Compy. Desertion has already commenced. Sergt Williams & four privates have already gone, and when it will stop God only knows. . . . As yet no news in relation to yourself. I have recd a new register corrected to Oct. 31st and in that Surgeon G. F. Turner, Asst. Surgeon W. S. King, C. P. Deyerle, J. E. Summers & W. M. Ryers (beside yourself & Murray) are reported in Califa. They are coming out I presume with the 2nd Infy. The arrival of the steamer created a great excitement in our harbor, & will be considered the commencement of a new era in this western world. The vessel is now moored for quien sabe how long — her engineers and crew have all left her, the former ask 5000 dollars per month for their services. All the other steamers will probably be as unfortunate as the first. The Oregon will be up this month. There is no coal in the harbour for them. All the world is coming to this country, vessels arriving every day loaded with passengers. It is rumored that Gen. S. intends prohibiting foreigners from working in the mines. I shall expect you by the 1st of April. Don't neglect bringing as many

mules and horses as you can possibly procure. Buy mules for anything under 100 dollars. They are selling for 300 & will be 1000 per pair this spring. Howard says if you want money go to Bell & get what you want and make your returns to him. He wishes you to do it. Very ordinary horses are selling for 250 dollars. I ask 500 for my white & will & can sell him for that. Lots are very high in San F — I expect to get some in Benicia, Santa Clara & Stockton for the firm. Don't be frightened, we must either make a fortune or *squash*, & so far as I am concerned, I can't be much worster. I expect you will have a number of your relations (Californians) in your party. Stoneman has gone to San Jose to purchase some property. The diggers are making their preparations to be off to the mines. Gold is found more abundantly than at any time last year. On your way up get 20 days leave from Col. M. & 60 from Gen S who is at San Francisco. I hope I shall be permitted to relieve you, then Stoneman &c. . . . Maj. Stevenson is in arrest & being tried by a Genl. Court for Dis. of Ords. It is supposed he will get clear, in consequence of the illegal order. The Col. has gone down to assist him. All the officers that were with us are doing very well, getting rich fast. Give my regards to all friends & go direct to my Commadras Sterns & give them my love and kiss them all as coming from their dear Compadre Jim S — take one for yourself. . . .

Yours truly

A. J. Smith

If you should get this on the road, send it on to Rucker after reading it.

A. J. S.

Capt. A. J. Smith had been transferred with his dragoons to San Francisco, leaving Captain Burton in command at Los Angeles.

The *California* had sailed from New York on October 6, 1848, bringing Brig. Gen. Persifer Smith to command the Pacific division, Maj. Edward R. S. Canby to relieve Lieut. W. T. Sherman as adjutant general of the department, and Capt. Edmund A. Ogden as assistant quartermaster. These men reached California in comparative ease, in less than five months, bringing their wives along. The old isolation and the old heroisms of the sailing vessel and the overland trail were relegated to the past by steam transportation and the wealth of the gold fields.

Desertion among the soldiers was inevitable, because a man could make \$16 a day as a laborer, even if he didn't choose to dig for gold. As a soldier he was paid twenty-three cents a day. Newly arrived recruits were inclined to stay at the army post only long enough to recover from their scurvy, and then they departed, with the army's guns and equipment.⁵⁴

Army officers were so grossly underpaid in relation to the California scale of prices, that only the fact that their rations were issued in kind

permitted them to survive. Gen. Persifer Smith encouraged them to engage in outside money-making pursuits and granted them generous leaves to make such enterprises possible.⁵⁵ W. D. M. Howard was a San Francisco trader, and Maj. Horace Bell was attorney, editor, and financier of Los Angeles.

Major Rucker, now garrisoning Los Angeles with Major Graham, was to become quartermaster general in 1882.

Abel Stearns and his young wife, Arcadia Bandini, could hardly have been Captain Smith's compadre and comadre, because those affectionate relationships were literally based on the baptism of children, and the Stearns had no children. But all the soldiers loved Arcadia.

45.

Los Angeles Cala
March 14, 1849.

We hereby bind ourselves to accompany Dr. J. Griffin from this place to the Town of Monterey or the Town of San Jose for the purpose of assisting in driving & guarding his Cabballada. He the said Griffin furnishing us Horses for the trip & to provision us on the road, we paying him the cost of such provisions. And after our arrival at Monterey or San Jose, should both parties agree we will proceed farther with him.

Witness

A. W. Luckett

Michel Flaherty
his

George X Wheeler
mark

46.

March 28, 1849

[*Translated from the Spanish by Mrs. Leonor Montau, Univ. Calif., Los Angeles*]

Contract between Mr. Juan Griff and the Indian Domingo, native of Agua Caliente, in regard to the work which Mr. Griff will assign, binding both to fulfill in the most complete manner that may be determined by law, the following conditions:

1. Mr. Juan Griff binds himself to take the said Domingo to the mines supplying him with a horse and provisions, paying him a salary of ten pesos per month from this date forward.
2. Also Mr. Griff binds himself, in case Domingo should become ill, to give him medical treatment without charge and without the latter having to pay for the medicines used in his treatment.
3. Domingo shall leave this city together with and under the orders of Mr. Griff, going to the placer mine where they intend to work and serving as vaquero during the journey and for as long as Mr. Griff may find convenient.
4. He shall work also in the mine whenever Mr. Griff may order him to do so,

delivering punctually to the said gentleman the gold that he may take out during the day, which will be divided into two equal parts, one for Domingo and the other for Mr. Griff, because this gentleman has to provide him with maintenance for as long as the agreement lasts.

5. Mr. Griff agrees also that if Domingo behaves well, like a man of honor, and discharges well the tasks to which he is assigned, he will give him a bonus in addition to the salary that is agreed upon.

Both contracting parties bind their persons and goods to the observance and validation of this document and submit themselves to the power and jurisdiction of the Honorable Judges, who may or should intervene, so that they may compel and urge them, by executive procedure, to its fulfillment as if it were a sentence given and accepted, waiving any laws in their favor and defense for the general (law) in its proper form, begging the Honorable Chief Judge of this City to authorize the present contract for its greater security and other purposes, Mr. Narciso Botella signing for Domingo, who does not know how to write, in the City of Los Angeles, March 28, 1849.

Estevan C. G
1st Alcalde

Armayo de Domingo
Narciso Botella

Dr. Griffin was off to the mines at last, with a generous leave and a large caballada. Since Los Angeles ceased to be a military station on May 21, 1849, the doctor would report, at the end of his leave, to the new division headquarters at Sonoma.

(To be continued)

NOTES

51. 31st Cong., *op. cit.*, p. 626.

52. Thomas C. Lancey, "The Cruise of the Dale," 1846-49 (three longhand folio ledgers, Cowan collection, U.C.L.A. Library), III, 97. This is not the same material as that cited in note 34 above, although it bears the same title. The three volumes of longhand resemble a diary rather than a narrative.

53. *Regulations for the Medical Department* (as in note 30 above), p. 19.

54. Griffin, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

55. 31st Cong., *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53.

The first part of the history of the United States is the history of the colonies. The colonies were founded by Englishmen who came to America in search of a better life. They were at first dependent on England for everything they needed. But as they grew in number and power, they began to assert their independence. They fought the Revolutionary War and won. They then declared their independence from England and became a new nation. The second part of the history of the United States is the history of the Union. The Union was formed by the joining of the thirteen original states. It was a new experiment in government. The states agreed to give up some of their power to a central government. This government was to protect the rights of the people and to keep the peace between the states. The third part of the history of the United States is the history of the present. The United States has grown in power and influence. It is now one of the most powerful nations in the world. It has a large population and a strong economy. It is a leader in many fields of science and technology. It is also a leader in the field of international relations. The United States has a long and proud history. It is a nation of freedom and opportunity. It is a nation that has made great contributions to the world. It is a nation that we can be proud of.

The fourth part of the history of the United States is the history of the future. The future of the United States is uncertain. There are many challenges ahead. There are many problems that need to be solved. But there is also hope. There is a bright future ahead for the United States. If we only have the courage and the wisdom to face our challenges, we can build a better future for ourselves and for the world. The history of the United States is a story of progress and achievement. It is a story of a nation that has overcome many difficulties and has emerged as a great power. It is a story that we can all be proud of. Let us continue to build on the legacy of our ancestors and create a better future for all.

The Breens of San Juan Bautista

With a Calendar of Family Papers

By JOHN SHEA ENRIGHT, S.J.

PATRICK BREEN, a native of Carlow, Ireland, migrated in 1828 with his mother, brothers and sisters to Southwold in the region of Toronto, Canada, and apparently it was there that Breen met and married Margaret Bulger, also of his native town of Carlow.¹ The first children of their large family were born in Southwold township. In 1833, the family moved to the United States and for about a year they lived in Springfield, Illinois. Their next move was to Keokuk, Iowa, whence they set out for California. At this point, Breen's place in history began to take shape.

The predominating reason for his choice of the California country was his desire to live in a Catholic culture, since he believed a full Catholic life was necessary for himself and for his young family. In September 1830, conscious of this lack in the region of Toronto, Breen had been one of a committee of ten to petition the bishop of Kingston, Ontario, for a resident priest; otherwise, the committee said, the Catholics then living in their townships would not remain nor encourage their friends to come.² California now seemed to promise the religious environment he sought. So, in the spring of 1846, with the Mexican War just beginning and California a prospective possession of the United States, Breen, naturalized some eighteen months before, headed with his family toward the western horizon.³ Their traveling household consisted of three bulging wagons, seven children ranging in age from fourteen years to six months, and an ample supply of beef.⁴ Patrick Dolan, Patrick's good friend from Keokuk, accompanied them with his own wagon.⁵

At Independence, Missouri, Breen joined a train of wagons under William H. Russell, which started across the plains early in May 1846.⁶ When Fort Bridger in present-day Wyoming was reached, the agents of Lansford Hastings talked fast to the men of the train concerning a

shorter route to California. Breen and a certain group, against the better judgment of most of the other men of the train, chose the Hastings Cut-off. Thus the Breen family were numbered among the pioneer travelers, to be known, one day, as the Donner party, after George Donner, captain of the train. Their route was to take them around the southern end of Great Salt Lake, through the Washoe country to the Sierra Nevada, and into California.⁷

Patrick Breen, his family, and some dozen other family groups shared the tragic weeks from October 31, 1846, until March 4, 1847, during which thirty-nine out of the original eighty-seven members, including the captain and his wife Tamsen, died of starvation and exposure. With an intuition that the group was making history, Breen kept his now-celebrated log at "Truckee Lake" — a document characterized by Bancroft as "the most precious and fascinating record and relic of these events."⁸ Margaret Breen's own strength of character, and her conviction that she was necessary to her family, may have explained in great part her ability to hold up with such remarkable fortitude that, shortly after relief came, the Breen family, their number intact, was able to reach Johnson's ranch at the edge of the Sacramento Valley.

Seldom afterwards did the Breens speak of the nightmare of the Donner party.⁹ It lay in the past, and the springtime of the Sacramento Valley at Sutter's Fort was the scene of their finding health again.¹⁰ Their convalescence accomplished by the summer of 1847, Patrick Breen obtained a wagon, mules, and supplies, and left in search of a place where he might settle. He found a temporary haven at Murphy's ranch on the Cosumnes River not far from Sutter's Fort.¹¹ Later that summer, Robert Livermore¹² was host to the Breens. At each of these stops, substantial assistance was given in the shape of beef, or household articles — and also advice, as the family's destination in California was still unsettled. Their route cut diagonally through the hills to the west and toward the missions below San Francisco Bay. At Mission San Jose, fifteen miles above the pueblo of San Jose, they found temporary residence with the Franciscan padres during the winter of 1847-48.¹³ Friendly help came also from Agustín Alviso,¹⁴ José de Jesús Vallejo,¹⁵ and Guillermo Castro.¹⁶

In February 1848, Breen and his party made their way down the Santa Clara Valley to the fertile plain known as the San Juan Valley. There, on the mesa where stands Mission San Juan Bautista,¹⁷ Patrick Breen, twenty years a wanderer, finally found the end of his journey. The rich-

ness of the land surrounding San Juan, its Catholic atmosphere, the friendliness of the padres and native Californians about the mission were deciding factors.

Some years earlier, José Castro (son of José Tiburcio Castro), whom Bancroft calls "... the most prominent of his name as a public man,"¹⁸ had built a handsome two-story adobe on San Juan's plaza, with a barracks adjacent to it. At the coming of the Breens, Castro, then a civilian, turned this house over to the newcomers.¹⁹ Why he took this step is a mystery. Perhaps it was because the Breens were a large family in want and Castro had a native charity. Whatever the reason, Castro's house became the Breen family's California home, and for several years after 1849 their fellow-Americans, passing through San Juan Bautista, found its doors open to them. California and its people had been good to the Breens and they reciprocated in this way. With San Juan a day's ride from Monterey and a natural stopping-off place between the coast and the gold fields, Breen's place became a hostel and was known unofficially as The Inn ("Five dollars a night per horse and man"),²⁰ while Mrs. Breen's solicitude for her native Californian neighbors became a legend in San Juan Valley.²¹

Patrick Breen, dignified patriarch with blue eyes and Irish brogue, was as familiar a figure in Monterey and Salinas City as he was at the mission, since he was one of the first three supervisors of Monterey County.²² During his twenty years residence in San Juan Bautista he held also the offices of school trustee and postmaster. His increasing holdings, his sheep and cattle, were no obstacle to his public interests. One or other of the seven sons could manage for him at the ranch when other business called him away.

John Breen, who was the eldest of Patrick Breen's sons, has an importance of his own.²³ John lacked, in some degree, the foresight of his father. But he was enterprising and had a lively family pride. Not many months after the Breens reached the mission, a prospector had passed through San Juan with ore from the Sacramento Valley, for assaying at Monterey. Upon the return of the prospector through San Juan, John's imagination was fired by the bits of news circulating around the plaza; the ore was really gold.²⁴ Though only a lad of sixteen, he left for the gold fields. He spent almost a year at Mormon Island and Placerville, and in 1849 returned home with almost \$12,000. Thereupon Castro House was purchased from the Breens' benefactor, in addition to six hundred acres of land below the mission mesa. At twenty years of age

John was married to Leah Margaret Smith (daughter of San Juan's first postmaster, Edward Smith) and took over his own ranch, where he built a comfortable adobe within sight of his father's house and the mission.

Edward J. Breen, tall and well-proportioned, was the second oldest of the Breen boys and the favorite of his mother. He purchased a portion of Rancho Topo in the Salinas Valley which he farmed successfully. His life had its share of sorrow. When twenty-two, he married Catherine Sullivan of San Francisco, but two of his sons were little more than infants when his wife was taken by death. Some years later he married Mary Jane Burns, also of San Francisco.²⁵

Patrick Breen, Jr., nine years old on arrival in California, married an Australian girl, Amelia Anderson. Both Patrick Breen, Jr., and John Breen had brought their brides into the Catholic Church. The junior Patrick surpassed all of his family in material prosperity and extended his property over large sections of the San Juan Valley floor.²⁶ The quality and quantity of his sheep and cattle made him one of the prominent ranchers of the area. As his household increased, Patrick Jr. rivalled his brother John in adding room after room to his rambling ranch-house.²⁷

Two of Patrick Breen Sr.'s sons planned careers other than ranching, and attended Santa Clara College at Mission Santa Clara.²⁸ In 1862, James Frederick Breen, having graduated from Santa Clara, was associated with the law firm of Carpentier and Clark in San Francisco. The following year he set up offices in the Plaza Hotel in San Juan and began a legal and civic career in Monterey and San Benito counties, serving terms as district attorney of Monterey County, state assemblyman, and county judge. In the creation of San Benito County in 1872, James Breen played an important part, and he was subsequently named superior court judge of the new county. Judge Breen was prominent as a property-holder in the valley and as a Catholic layman in San Juan and Hollister. His wife was Catherine McMahon, daughter of James McMahon, proprietor of McMahon House, well-known hotel in Hollister during the 1870's and 1880's. (See below, under Isabella Breen.)

William Breen, also educated at Santa Clara College, married Mary, daughter of Angelo Zanetta, chef and hotelman of Monterey and San Juan.²⁹ Shortly after the birth of their child, William became ill and died suddenly. Youngest of the Breen family, he was the only one of the children born in San Juan.

The personality of Simon Breen, fourth oldest of the boys, was different from all of his family. Unpredictable in his interests, and without particular material success, Simon was one of the best horsemen in the valley during the years after the Civil War. This and his violin playing³⁰ gave him a certain prominence around San Juan. For some years he was self-appointed cook for the vaqueros at the Breen ranch. Simon's wife was Marie Constance Palmsay.

Peter Breen, fifth oldest of the Breen children, died an untimely death by drowning in the summer of 1870, shortly after his twenty-seventh birthday. All the hardships of the winter of 1846-47 were as nothing to his mother compared to the moment when they brought home Peter's lifeless body.³¹ He had been looking forward to marriage and had recently made a land-claim in the valley. While on an errand for the Sisters of San Juan,³² Peter was crossing Pajaro Creek on horseback when he fell from his horse; he was apparently kicked unconscious by the animal and was drowned. His funeral from the mission the following day was one of the largest San Juan had ever witnessed.

Isabella, the only daughter of Patrick Breen, was heiress to the affection of her seven brothers. It was understood from her infancy that she was to have every social and cultural advantage that a young lady of her station deserved. Before her marriage to Thomas Morgan McMahon, brother of her sister-in-law, Catherine (Mrs. James F.) Breen, Isabella studied with the Dominican Sisters, first at Monterey, then in their new school at Benicia. After her marriage, she could easily afford the good things of life to which she had grown accustomed. Isabella was the last survivor of both the Donner Party and the Breen family.

Patrick Breen Sr. had preceded his entire family in death. During the smallpox epidemic of 1868, though not afflicted with the disease then raging in San Juan Valley, Breen failed rapidly, and died in his bedroom at Castro House on December 21, 1868. Margaret, his widow, lived for six more years. Robust all of her life, she might have lived longer had she not had to endure the sorrows attached to the deaths of her two sons. She died only a few weeks after William.

On the hill, just southwest of Mission San Juan Bautista, is the town's cemetery where rest the mortal remains of most of the Breens. The monuments that mark their graves are reminders of a significant family of pioneers, some of whom became leaders in an important period of California history.

In the custody of the Richard Gleeson Library, University of San Francisco, is the collection of Breen family papers calendared below. They have been gathered together during the past two years from the living descendants of Patrick Breen, and their assistance in the project of preserving, as a unit, the story of an early California family is gratefully acknowledged.

The letters and effects of Patrick Breen, Sr., are the most impressive, if the smallest, part of the papers. The diaries and letters of John Breen, eldest son of Patrick, assume a prominence in the collection because of their abundance. Among the primary materials are letters, photographs, and documents of each of Breen's sons and of his only daughter. The calendar includes, besides, the letters of Breen's daughter-in-law, Leah Smith Breen, and a certain minimum of material which originates with some of his grandchildren and the families into which the Breen boys had married. The latter materials have been included only where it was judged that they contributed to the story of the Breen family. Arrangement is chronological wherever practical, and within divisions according to the individual members of the family.

Three important manuscripts are related to the group, but are not in this collection: (1) "The Diary of Patrick Breen," most valued of all the Breen papers in its day-to-day account of the sufferings of the Donner party, is in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; (2) John Breen's "Pioneer Memories," the recollections of the eldest of Breen's sons and written in 1877 for Hubert H. Bancroft, is also in the Bancroft Library; and (3) the "Diary of John Breen, 1853-55," is in the California Historical Society Library, San Francisco.

CALENDAR OF THE BREEN PAPERS

PATRICK BREEN (1790-1868):

Watercolor of Patrick Breen (ca. 1860).

Topographical Map of the Road from Missouri to Oregon . . . (in 7 sections)
compiled by Charles Preuss (1846); mounted on cloth.

Photos (2) of Margaret Bulger Breen (ca. 1850 and 1870).

William Breen to Patrick Breen, Southwold, Canada, Nov. 2, 1852.

Same to same, March 3, 1853.

John Canning to Patrick Breen, Sugar Grove, Mo., Jan. 5, 1858.

Same to same, Cranberry, Pa., Oct. 15, 1860.

Mary Daly to Margaret Breen, Clark County, Mo., May 12, 1852.

Copy Book, 1821-22.

JOHN BREEN (1832-1903):

- Patrick Dolan's (d. 1846) *Holy Bible*, Douay Version, 1817; with autograph of John Breen, stating original ownership, 1852.
- Diary from Jan. 1, 1853, to July 1, 1853, San Juan Bautista.
- Diary from Feb. 2, 1855, to Dec. 22, 1868 (scattered entries).
- Supplement-Diary, April 26, 1857, to Sept. 23, 1858.
- "John Breen's Book" (diary particles, poetry written at time of marriage; 1860-61 ledger accounts).
- Diary from Aug. 1, 1866, to Dec. 31, 1866.
- Diary of 1867.
- Diary of 1868.
- Diary from Jan. 1, 1871, to Jan. 16, 1871.
- Property notations and business-book (1863).
- Property notes and business-book (1865).
- Leah Breen's poetry book, at time of marriage (1851).
- Ranch books (3), ca. 1868.
- Ledger-diary: Ledger, 1871; Diary, Jan. 1872-Feb. 11, 1872.
- Ranch account-book (1871).
- Ranch and home account-book (Feb. 1873 to June 1873).
- Ranch book (1872).
- Ledger (1855-56; 1867-68).
- Ledger (1874-78).
- Account-book (1870).
- Account-book (1876-78).
- Expense account-book (1889).
- Wedding poem (Oct. 18, 1851).
- Marriage certificate (Oct. 18, 1851), with autograph of John Adair McDowell, mayor of Monterey.
- Land survey (Aug. 20, 1850), by E. Smith.
- Immaculate Heart Sisters to John Breen, San Juan, Oct. 18, 1867.
- John Breen to Leah Smith Breen: 17 letters, between Nov. 28, 1866, and April 1, 1876.
- Map of estate of John Breen and E. J. Breen, July 1893, by E. P. McCray, surveyor.
- Leah Smith Breen to children and near relatives: 18 letters, between Nov. 12, 1856, and Sept. 8, 1909.
- Leah Smith Breen to Justus Griffith: 8 letters, between Aug. 23, 1869, and Dec. 10, 1873.
- Jane Smith Brummet to Leah Breen and the Breen children: 10 letters, between March 3, 1872, and August 5, 1892.
- Fremont Smith to Leah Smith Breen: 3 letters, 1892-93.
- John Breen children: 9 letters, between April 5, 1868, and Feb. 5, 1900.

Margaret Birmingham to John Breen, San Juan Bautista, April 12, 1852.

Political miscellany: Monterey Union County ticket, 1864; Union Republican state ticket, 1874; Republican and Democratic tickets, Monterey County, 1870; announcement of candidacy for assembly (postcard), 1874; announcement of candidacy for supervisor of San Benito County, 1892; sample ballot, 1874.

Last will and testament of John Breen, April 11, 1874.

Copybook of Adelaide Breen.

File of children of John Breen: five programs of St. John's Institute, San Juan, and program of a plaza concert, 1874-87.

Daguerreotype and oak case — John and Leah Breen (ca. 1855).

Album — John Breen family (1871).

Photos of John Breen (4) and Leah Breen (1).

EDWARD J. BREEN (1833-1890):

Photos (2) of Edward Breen.

Photo of Mary Jane Burns Breen.

Photo of J. Roger Breen (son of Edward Breen).

Photo of William, Edwin, and Harry Breen (children of Edward Breen).

PATRICK BREEN, JR. (1837-1899):

Catalogued deeds, mortgages, leases, wills, etc., of the estate of Patrick Breen, Jr. (80 documents, 1848-1895; included are the will of Patrick Breen, Jr., and the property disposition of his widow Amelia Anderson Breen (d. 1901).

Photos (2) of Patrick Breen, Jr.

Photos (2) of Amelia Anderson Breen.

Photos (2) of Peter, and Patrick William Breen — sons of Patrick Breen, Jr.

JAMES FREDERICK BREEN (1842-1899):

Sample ballots (3) of Union Republican ticket, 1870.

Photos (2) of James Breen.

Photos (2) of Catherine McMahon Breen.

Photos (4) of James Breen's children, Grace and Marguerite.

SIMON PRESTON BREEN (1839-1899):

Photo of Simon Breen.

Mrs. Albert Buettler to Mr. and Mrs. John Breen, San Juan, Aug. 5, 1885.

Wedding invitation of Albert Beuttler and Geneva Breen.

ISABELLA BREEN McMAHON (1845-1935):

Isabella Breen to Leah Smith Breen: 2 letters (1858).

Photos (2) of Isabella Breen.

Photos (2) of Isabella and Thomas Morgan McMahon.

Photo of Helena McMahon.

Photo of Thomas Morgan McMahon.

C. F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party* (San Francisco, 1880); contains signature of Mrs. McMahon.

Letters (6) of Isabella Breen McMahon (1930-35).

PETER BREEN (1843-1870):

U. S. Preemption-claim (1869).

Photos (3) of Peter Breen.

WILLIAM MICHAEL BREEN (1849-1874):

Wedding picture of William and Mary Breen.

Wedding announcement of William and Mary Breen.

NOTES

1. See H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (1886-90), II, 729, for brief notes on Breen and the members of his family.

2. Letter to the Rt. Rev. Alexander Macdonell, Sept. 7, 1830, Yarmouth near St. Thomas, Canada (manuscript, archives of archdiocese of Toronto).

3. Patrick Breen, certificate of naturalization, Oct. 15, 1844, West Point, Lee County, Iowa (manuscript, Bancroft Library). John Breen, "Pioneer Memories" (manuscript, Bancroft Library), p. 3, says: "The Mexican War, I believe, caused him to come to California." For the precipitancy of events on the west coast, June 1-Sept. 30, 1846, see John A. Hussey, "California's Day-Book," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXV (June 1946), 121-31.

4. John Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

5. Bancroft, *ibid.*, p. 782; V, 530-37 *passim*. Dolan had been a witness for Breen's naturalization; he died on Dec. 16, 1846, while seeking relief for the Donner party.

6. John Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 528, 708.

7. For description of their route across the Great Salt Desert, see Virginia Reed Murphy, *A Happy Issue*, ed. by Lucia S. deWolf (Stanford, 1935).

8. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 534; in II, 729, he calls Breen's diary, "one of the most highly prized treasures of my library." A recent printing may be found in *Diary of Patrick Breen*, with introduction and notes by George R. Stewart (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1946). Of Patrick Breen, himself, Charles F. McGlashan (*The History of the Donner Party*, Truckee, 1879, p. 75) says that he was "a man of more than ordinary intelligence . . . his life furnishes a rare type of the pioneer Californian."

9. Catherine Breen Nyland, granddaughter of Patrick Breen, in an interview with the present author, August 18, 1951.

10. John Breen, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 50.

11. For biographical note on Martin Murphy, Jr., see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 749-50. Murphy's arrival in California preceded that of the Donner party by two years.

12. The English-born Robert Livermore came to California by sea in 1822 (or 1825?). For an account of his large acquisitions of land, etc., see Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 715-16.

13. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California* (New York, 1848, pp. 309-12) gives a detailed description of "the mission of San Jose, or St. Joseph."

14. Agustín Alviso (son of Ignacio Alviso, Anza colonist) was a prosperous ranchero, and owner, after 1844, of the Santa Rita grant in Livermore Valley. See Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 694 and 695.

15. José de Jesús Vallejo, son of Ignacio Vallejo and brother of Gen. M. G. Vallejo, was born in Mission San Jose; in 1836 he became administrator of its property. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 757.)

16. Guillermo Castro (husband of Louisa Peralta) was grantee of the San Lorenzo rancho, 1838-41. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 750.)

17. An impression of San Juan Bautista, on a Sunday morning in 1848, is given by William T. Sherman in *History of Monterey, San Benito, and Santa Cruz Counties* (Chicago, 1925), p. 84.

18. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 751-52.

19. The Breens lived at Castro House until Mrs. Breen's death in 1874. It was occupied by a Mrs. O'Flynn for several years afterwards; finally, in 1933, it was sold to the State of California.

20. Hon. James F. Breen, "Personal and Historical Reminiscences of San Benito County," *History of San Benito County* (San Francisco, 1881).

21. J. Edwin Breen, grandson of Patrick Breen, to the present author, July 1952.

22. John Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

23. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 729.

24. John Breen, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

25. The Burns-Breen Collection, once the property of Thomas P. Burns of San Francisco (brother of Mary Jane Burns Breen), was presented to the California Historical Society by Harry Breen of Hollister, son of Edward and Mary Jane Burns Breen. For description, see this *QUARTERLY*, March 1953, p. 89.

26. Sunday mornings, after Mass at the mission, the sons and their wives and children crossed the plaza to Castro House, where Grandmother Breen received them. Patrick, Jr., failed in tact in this matter, and, when Mass was finished, he went forthwith to his own ranch just below the mission mesa. Such a spirit did not fit into Mrs. Breen's scheme of things, and, over a period of years, the young man's independence created somewhat strained relations at home.

27. The Breen ranch is in existence today, the possession of James P. Breen, a grandson of Patrick Breen, Jr.

28. Santa Clara College was founded by the Jesuit fathers in 1851, when Mis-

sion Santa Clara was turned over to them. Jesuits from Turin, Italy, staffed the college until the order was well established on the west coast at the turn of the century.

29. Zanetta came to San Juan in the late 1850's. Subsequently, in partnership with John Comfort, he built and operated the Plaza Hotel. The handsome Zanetta home stands today near Castro House on San Juan plaza.

30. Patrick Breen, Sr., also played the violin. Even in his declining years it was a favorite recreation for him.

31. Catherine Breen Nyland, in an interview with the present author, July 1951.

32. The Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary came to San Juan from Mexico, and, in 1865, opened St. John's Institute, a school and orphanage, on the plaza. Sister Carmen Argelago was in charge.

Anderson Valley, Mendocino County

By T. ALBERT STROBRIDGE

MUCH OF THE HISTORY of California settlement following the Spanish and Mexican periods has been built up around the "romantic" mining industry, which was profitable to the few rich men it produced but often tragic to hundreds of other, unrecorded, hard-working pioneers. It remained for the equally-romantic agricultural industry to produce a class of men and women, who formed the background for a more reliable permanent residence in a state which now holds second place in point of national population.

This narrative has been prepared in an effort to record the history of one of the early, agriculturally-minded, group settlements in California — that of Anderson Valley, Mendocino County. My knowledge of this beautiful valley covers years of frequent visits to the Brown and Prather families, who were among the first settlers and three generations of whom have made it their home. The families of other pioneers, also of long residence in the valley but not specifically mentioned here, have had experiences of equal interest and have generously allowed me to draw upon their fund of information.

Anderson Valley occupies an area about 25 miles long, extending westerly towards the coast, from a point 20 miles west of Ukiah. Earliest means of entrance, other than by trail, was a primitive mountain road, about 20 miles long, from Ukiah to Boonville, the principal settlement in the eastern end of the valley. The road was used for stage and wagon transportation, but was unsafe in winter. The present highway, built around 1900, follows an old county road from Cloverdale through a chain of hills known as Dry Creek and Yorkville. It is called the McDonald-to-the-Sea highway and offers a variety of natural beauty, although the land is little suited for cultivation until Boonville is reached. The view immediately approaching Anderson Valley unfolds an area under rich cultivation, with heavy timber ranges on the south side and

open sheep-grazing ranges on the north, the ranges averaging 1500 to 2000 feet elevation.

Wool from this section was considered the cleanest on the market and sold at top prices. Gradually the rich soil on the floor of the valley was cleared for farming, with the result that apples grown there were found to excel in variety and flavor apples grown in other sections of the state. Few farmers are without their individual driers, as most of the fruit is dried before marketing. The industrious character of the farmers, and the production of wool, grain, and fruit, made them virtually independent of the outside world except for luxuries. Some ten years ago, Mendocino County erected one of its largest pavilions at Boonville, and regular apple shows, attended by people from most of the northern part of the state, are held there.

Near Philo, on the south side of the Navarro River, is about half a section of particularly fine virgin redwood, commonly known as Hendy Woods. It can be entered through the Gowan ranch either by ford across the river, or by a temporary bridge removed during the winter.

As the motorist approaches the ocean, along the last ten miles of new highway, he passes through forests and streams naturally stocked with trout and steelhead according to season. The road was surveyed about 1925, with the expectation that when tree life on both sides of the road resumed its normal condition, an overhanging arbor-effect would develop. The expectation has been fulfilled, and some of the arbored portions extend for a mile or more, leaving tourists to wonder at what they see.

Two abandoned mills with their wharves are all that remain of the once-active lumber camps that helped build the Pacific coast lumber industry. Until recent years, the Albion Lumber Mill at the confluence of the Albion (now called the North fork) and Navarro rivers was serviced by a small, narrow-gauge railroad. Closing of the mills in this area was hastened by community efforts to preserve the remaining virgin timber, their efforts being linked with the campaign of the Save-the-Redwoods League.

Natural mineral springs abound — not a square mile in the entire valley is without one or more such springs. Rancheria Creek, about fifteen miles in length, is the longest tributary of Navarro River from the south, and has its sources in mineral springs of known medicinal value.

Anderson Valley and its ranges have always been the natural habitat for wild animal and bird life. In early days, residents were accustomed

to join together to track down panthers and other enemies of sheep and deer. The writer has often heard of such hunts, sometimes taking days of patient stalking, which seldom proved unsuccessful. There is a rare species of grouse that has for many years lived on top of the ranges to the north of the valley floor and, when permitted to be hunted, they were found to be strongly flavored with pine, on the tender needles of which the Anderson Valley specimens feed almost exclusively. They have only a little plumage under the throat covering the drumming pouch, but the skin itself resembles newly-mined corrugated gold; and there is a dash of gold and crimson plumage on the eyebrows, which also become distended when the bird is in the act of drumming. It is thought that a complete study of this stately Mendocino County bird might yield a separate variety of grouse.

The foregoing briefly covers some of the geographic and natural-history features of Anderson Valley. Now follows a summary of my interviews with Charles Brown* (then in his eighty-fifth year), while I was visiting Ralph and Millie Brown in May 1935.

Anderson Valley was named after Walter Anderson, known as the discoverer of the valley about 1851, during one of his early roamings over the country north of San Francisco. When he returned to his home near San Francisco he made the statement that he had found "The Garden of Eden" and intended to move there, which he did. Settlements began to appear within a stretch of about fifteen miles between Boonville and the junction of the North Fork with the Navarro River. Below are the names of the young and old male population† of the valley, at the time (about 1862) that Dr. J. T. Brown, father of Charles Brown, settled in Philo with his wife Elizabeth [Fraice] Brown and five children:

J. D. Ball	Ed Brayton	Bill Donnelly
Henry Beeson	Frank Buster	John Eddington
Ike Beeson	Mike Buster	Howard Fanning
Ben Bonnet	D. Campbell	John Geschwind
W. W. Boon	J. C. Conrad	Joseph Geschwind
Chas. Bradway	Calvin Counts	Lew Gary
Al Brayton	Chas. Davis	John Grossman

*Charles Brown lived to the so-called ripe old age of almost one hundred years.

†The reader may wish to compare this list, compiled by Charles Brown, with the comparatively short roster given for Anderson Township in the *History of Mendocino County* (San Francisco, 1880), pp. 357-64.

William Hale	John Lecch	William Prather
Jas. Hawkins	J. A. McGimsey	Jas. Rawles
Geo. Huden	"Port" McGimsey	John Snider
Daniel Ingram	"Gild" Moore	William Stein
Bob Janveter	Henry Nunn	Jas. Wallace
Jack Jones	Noak Nunn	Pat Williams
Alonzo Kendall	Sylvester Nunn	
Sam Lawson	Alec Obarr	

Dr. J. T. Brown left Rome, James County, Iowa, in 1853 with his wife Elizabeth and three young children — Charles, three years old; Oscar, two years; and Henry, one year, traveling in a covered wagon with three yoke of oxen. California was reached in six months, with two yoke of oxen, two animals being lost in transit. The family encountered tribes of Indians, the Potawatomi among others, and were forced to stop near Fort Laramie. It so happened that Dr. Brown was recognized by one of the Indian chiefs, who had been his former playmate in Iowa. Acting on the advice of this chief, Dr. Brown separated from the rest of the caravan and continued along with his family to the coast, thus escaping the massacre of the caravan near Laramie. The family first settled in Napa County, where Dr. Brown opened a small drug store in or near St. Helena. About this time he sold one of his oxen, for which he was paid a \$50 eight-sided gold-coin slug. In 1862 the family moved to Anderson Valley and settled on a homestead near Philo. The names of the Brown children are: Charles, Oscar, Henry, Frank (father of Blanche Brown), Kate, George, Stella, Mary, Horace, Ralph, and two others who died in infancy. Charles recalled that family attendance at church in the valley was by ox-drawn wagon.

Millie Prather, daughter of William and Diana Elizabeth (Ingram) Prather, married Ralph Brown, and both of them had been friends of mine for over fifty years until their deaths recently. William Prather left Indiana on horseback with a party of emigrants during 1853, Diana Ingram, whom he later married in California, being a member of the same caravan. They came by the main trail across the plains and took Carson Pass over the Sierra Nevada. Prather went to Solano County and learned the shoe-making trade. Immediately after marrying in August 1860, he took his wife to Anderson Valley. There were only six families living there then — or two years before Dr. Brown's family came. The names of the Brown and Prather families appear in the first register of the district, a copy of which was in Mrs. Millie Brown's

library at Philo. — The following are the names of William and Elizabeth Prather's children: Hattie, John T., Mary, Earl, Millie, Morris, Carl, Maud, and Eva.

At the opening of the Civil War in 1861, a vote was taken in the valley, expressing partisanship with the Union forces or with the seceding states. All but one favored the South. When announcement was made of the vote, the leader asked if the Union supporter was willing to show his colors; true to his stand, that one man rose to his feet and, between methodic ejections of tobacco juice, said, "I am that man." Characteristic of the neighborliness that had always prevailed, no one attempted to lay a finger on the dissident voter.

Millie Brown recalled a disturbance from cattle thieves, and was a witness to signal fires used to warn residents when she was eight years old. She also told of her childhood fright from the ghostly appearance of Indian faces at the windows of her father's cabin in the early evening, during the Indians' annual trips through the valley on their way to the coast; but nothing of an unfriendly nature ever developed.

The nearest blacksmith was ten miles away at Yorkville farm, where, according to Charles, his father once sent him to have a horse shod. He was obliged to wait over for a day while the blacksmith forged a set of shoes and nails out of an old gun barrel.

Indian Creek, one of the streams entering Navarro River from the north near Philo, derived its name from tribes of peaceful Indians, who made the mouth of this creek a main place of temporary abode during their migrations to the coast. A trivial robbery was reported by Charles Brown, during one of these migrations. It seems that some of the tribe were badly in need of clothing, and a squaw appropriated a pair of Charles' corduroy pants while he was at school. Its disappearance was discovered when he returned home. Charles spread the news of the theft, because he had a gold coin concealed in a pocket of the missing garment. He and a man named Jim Tinker started out on horseback in pursuit. On overtaking the Indians, Charles noticed that his pants were on the back of a squaw. Jim lassoed the culprit, who surrendered them — with the gold coin still safely stowed in the pocket.

Early settlers depended on the raising of cattle, hogs, and sheep for their livelihood. Lumber was cut largely for fence rails, while rough timber, sawed by the valley's one circular sawmill, served for dwellings. The gristmill was a primitive affair, located near Cristine in the center of the valley. It could be operated only in winter, when water power

was adequate. Later, another small mill was erected on Indian Creek. To my knowledge, it was still standing when I first visited the valley in 1898, but it was dismantled soon after.

A remarkable story of the "fish" variety is told by Charles Brown, who witnessed the incident. Following a long and heavy storm, Navarro River was running in flood, and salmon, which always appear in coastal rivers for spawning, filled the river in such quantities that one day, during the run, Charles saw his father throw a quantity of fish out of the river onto the bank with a pitchfork. The story is quite plausible, because it was this same winter of 1860-61 that northern California rivers overflowed and Sacramento City suffered its worst flood, the effects of which were witnessed by my parents' families, who were residing there. In contrast with this severe winter were the following two years of drought, when not enough water was available to operate the flour mills.

With its abundant supply of mineral springs, as mentioned above, there is little wonder that the health of the Anderson Valley population has always been of the best, and in recent years a few ranchers have offered vacationing privileges to those desiring them. The valley was without a resident physician of more than average professional ability until, about fifteen years ago, a graduate of a long-established eastern medical school took up residence, with his wife (a trained nurse) and child, at Boonville. The valley's population of about 800 kept his practice confined within the district. It is hoped that an expert dentist will soon recognize the inducement offered for similar residence, possibly at Philo, a more central location.

About twenty-five years ago, twenty or more families grouped together for the purpose of building a privately-owned telephone system, to include practically every ranch home in the valley. The total original cost involved only a few dollars for each rancher. In time the neighbors became familiar with code bell-calls, and one can imagine the hookup when signal-rings for the doctor were heard on the line. This privately owned telephone system is now connected with the main-line office of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co.'s stations at Boonville and Philo, so the farmers have at last obtained connection with the outside world.

As farmers' wants expanded, small community store-centers were gradually established at five-mile distances beyond Boonville, at Philo, Cristine, and Wendling — now called Navarro. Educational and social developments began with the start of settlement, although schooling

was limited to grammar-school studies; as children completed these grades they were absorbed into farming activities. Parents gave encouragement to occasional social and supper-dancing parties of a highly respectable nature, at which Millie and Ralph Brown invariably provided the music with portable organ and violin. I recall one such affair in 1902, when Maud Prather was my dancing partner. And there was the seasonal event of sheep-shearing. During the few days it lasted, the farmers' families vied with one another in providing their finest food for the shearing crews, which were made up of the stronger young men on the ranches.

In closing this brief account of Anderson Valley with a reference to education and to some of the diversions indulged in by its industrious people, I should like to express my appreciation of the assistance given to me by Miss Blanche Brown, granddaughter of Dr. J. T. Brown and William Prather, two of Anderson Valley's earliest settlers. Miss Brown, recently retired, has been a teacher for thirty-eight consecutive years in the public schools of this county and has, at her home in Philo, a wealth of historic data which someday she may organize into a paper of great interest.

News of the Society

NEW MEMBERS

NAME	ADDRESS	PROPOSED BY
<i>Associate</i>		
California-Western States Life Insurance Company	Sacramento	Peter Cook, Jr.
<i>Active</i>		
S. W. Coombs	Orinda	Floyd M. Lane
Countess Lillian Dandini	Hillsborough	Waddell F. Smith
Albert J. Evers	San Francisco	Francis P. Farquhar
Richard I. Gerson	San Francisco	Membership Committee
Mrs. Richard S. Giese	Sewickley, Pa.	Mrs. Rogers Parratt
Mrs. C. E. Koller	Oakland	James Abajian
Mrs. Philip M. Lansdale	Woodside	A. W. Hooper
Robert B. Liles	Oakland	Ralph H. Cross
Wallace E. Martin	Eureka	Membership Committee
Henry Mauldin	Lakeport	Membership Committee
Mrs. M. L. Mitchell	San Francisco	Holbrook Mitchell
Maury L. Sorrells	Shoshone	L. Burr Belden
John S. Wickett	Atherton	Resuming Membership

GIFTS OF RECOGNITION

To honor the following living persons, friends of the Society have made substantial monetary or other gifts:

Tamara Brown	Lewis Madison Terman
Kenneth Michael Mackenzie	Otis Buckminster Wight, M.D.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund for the purchase of books and manuscripts. As each item is purchased, it becomes a part of the library, and has affixed to it a bookplate, perpetuating the memory of the individual honored, and bearing, as well, the donor's name. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial, arranged by year of gift.

1945

William Cavalier

1947

Edna Rodden Martin

Albert Leslie Oliver

1948

Mrs. H. Spens Black

Edwin T. Blake

Helen Kinsell

William C. Latham

M. Hall McAllister

Ruby McCormick

F. J. Morin

Frank M. Ogden

Mrs. E. O. C. Ord

George A. Pope

Mrs. George A. Pope

Edward T. Sheppard

Mrs. Leslie Symmes

Louise A. Wormley

1949

Oscar Thomas Barber

Edward Washington Bender

Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell

Hope Bliss

Philip Read Bradley

Eldridge Ayer Burbank

John R. Burns

Rumsey Campbell

Randolph Clement

Abraham Lincoln Danziger

Edward B. Field

Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.

Abraham P. Hanks

Thomas Norman Harvey

Virginia Utz Jobe

Arthur C. Kennedy

George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.

La Verne Scott Moss

Whitney Palache

Robert J. Parker

Ann May Perry

Mabel Gray Potter

William C. Sharpsteen

John Joaquin Smith

L. Deming Tilton

Harry C. Warren, M.D.

Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.

1950

Hawley Wemore Beard

Katharine Esther Bennitt

George Mackey Cornwall

William M. Gilliland

Eliza Jane Gilman

Olive Martha Gould

Emily West Knowland

Ethel A. Krook

Abbie Hyde Lewis

James L'Hommedieu

Helen Flint Lyman

William O'Hara Martin

Haig Patigian

Barbara Peters

Minna Dohrmann Pischel

Margaret James Porter

Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.

J. D. Sweeney

Dixon Wecter

Betty Loren Whitsell

1951

M. Marian Atkins

Julia Stamper Berman

Edith Ward Berwyn

Clarence Leo Best

Eleanor Smith Boone

Frances Des Marais Brogan

Ella M. Brooke

Glada V. Elden

Edward Lilburn Eyre

Estelle Lyon Fay

Lowell E. Hardy

Grant James Hunt

Emma T. Kessler

Eva M. Koch

Richard Henry McCarthy
 Arthur S. Maloon
 Emily Oliviera
 May Hawley Patterson
 Mrs. Baltzer Peterson
 Julia D. Sammer
 Louis F. Sinsheimer
 Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
 Herbert F. Suhr

1952

Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
 Jessie Vaughan Harrier
 Margaret N. Hart
 Flodden W. Heron
 Elizabeth Thatcher Kent
 Douglas Stuart Loud
 Jean Parker McEwen
 Irving Martin
 George Lovett Merwin
 C. O. G. Miller
 John J. Newbegin
 Frank H. Norcross
 Thomas Wayne Norris
 Thomas L. Phillips
 Ruth Loring Richardson
 Warren Russell
 Irving M. Scott, Jr.
 Willard Brown Thorp
 George F. Williamson
 Willis A. Zane
 Gonzalo Zapata

1953

Frank H. Allen
 Arthur John Bancroft
 Francis Edward Bishop
 Herbert Eugene Bolton
 Charles Philip Boone
 Marie Wilson Bradley
 Paul W. Brannon
 Arthur H. Breed
 LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
 Katherine Thayer Cate
 Bessie Hobart Chapman
 Frederick Herman Coon
 Florence Osterero Cullen
 Lillie E. Davis
 Jerry W. DeCou

Alice Eastwood
 Maude Wyman Eberts
 Paul Eliel
 George August Fuhrig
 Robert B. Gaylord
 Frank Carroll Giffen
 Mary Glide Goethe
 Irene L. Goudey
 Mabel L. Holmes
 Frederick B. Kellam
 George E. Kennedy
 William James Laing
 Winifred M. Menzies
 Helen Knox Merwin
 Olga M. Meyer
 Katharine Hutchinson Post
 J. Sheldon Potter
 Laura Carmany Rulofson
 Gertrude Miller Simmons
 Lynn Townsend White

1954

Joseph Emmanuel Anderson
 Rae Griswold Behrens
 Leonard W. Buck, M.D.
 William W. Carruth
 Isaac Flint Chapman
 Lilian A. Cross
 Helen Richardson Espy
 Minnie Walker Engs
 Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
 Frederick Harvey
 Armand Leon Hering
 Emily Coey Hittell
 Mary Pardow Hooper
 Caroline Lendelof Johnson
 Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
 Charles M. MacGregor
 James H. McDonough
 John Ward Mailliard, Jr.
 Ruth Comfort Mitchell
 Ruby Muther
 Martha Lamberton Osmer
 William G. Paden
 Paul P. Pitchlynn
 Ida M. Reed
 Thomas M. Robinson, Jr.
 William Henry Shine
 Willard O. Wayman

In Memoriam

DAVID PRESCOTT BARROWS

This distinguished citizen of California died on September 5, 1954, at the home of his son in Orinda, California, at the age of eighty-one. It is not possible in brief compass even to touch on all of the many and varied activities in which he engaged. Beside his long teaching career and his years of active service in the first World War, he revived the 40th Division of the California National Guard while he commanded it (1926-37). The interest he aroused and the training he promoted were of great value when the division was called into service in the second World War.

He was born in Chicago, June 27, 1873. While he was still very young, his family moved to southern California. Here he watched the vanishing of the pioneer era. He became interested in the people who preserved the old traditions, and laid the foundation for his subsequent interest in historical matters. He also came to know many of the remaining fragments of the Indian tribes of that area. This awakened an interest and sympathy that were life long.

David Barrows was graduated from Pomona in 1894, obtained an M.A. degree from the University of California in 1895, another from Columbia in 1896, and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1897. As soon thereafter as civil government had succeeded the military, he was sent to establish a system of education first in the city of Manila, afterwards for the Philippine Islands as a whole, and was there till 1909. He came to the University of California in 1910 as professor of education and dean of the graduate school. The next year he was made professor of political science, and, in 1913, dean of the faculties. From 1919 to 1923 Barrows was president of the University of California, resigning to resume his old post as professor of political science, which he held until his retirement in 1943. His thirty-three years of service to the University of California were interrupted only by his war service and two years abroad, first in 1928 as Carnegie visiting professor of international relations in Latin America, afterwards in 1933-34 as Theodore Roosevelt professor at the University of Berlin.

Thousands of California students during those years have borne through life the impress of his guidance, given with his characteristic cordiality and forthrightness. While giving so much to those who were his first responsibility he never shirked the many calls to participate in activities to promote the welfare of the community.

The members of the California Historical Society, who heard him speak at the luncheon commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of California's admission to statehood, will long remember the stirring recital he gave of our growth in ways too often overlooked.

ANSON S. BLAKE

Editor's note. Reviews of meetings will appear in the March 1955 QUARTERLY.

PRELIMINARY LISTING OF MANUSCRIPT
COLLECTIONS IN LIBRARY OF
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Compiled by JAMES DE T. ABAJIAN

The National Historical Publications Commission of the U. S. National Archives, Washington, D. C., is compiling a guide to depositories of archives and manuscripts in the United States. In response to the commission's request, the following list of names showing a portion of the Society's manuscript holdings has been prepared. General instructions from the commission suggest that no group of materials be mentioned which aggregates less than 50 leaves of manuscript. Thus, many hundreds of items in the Society's library are not now included and must await a future — and we hope a more comprehensive — description. Since the commission's publication is intended primarily for professional library use, and perhaps will not reach the majority of our membership, the list of Society manuscript collections shown here is for the latter's information. The dates beneath the names refer to the time-period covered by the individual collections.

PERSONAL PAPERS

Adams, Samuel	Bates, C. P.
1849-1864	1873-1881
Alden, Bradford R.	Bell, Theodore A.
1853-1854	1906
Allyne, John W.	Bensley, John
1849-1890	1852-1866
Anthony, Edward G. H.	Bidwell, John
1848-1865	1857; 1868-1900
Argenti, Felix	Borlase, William Copeland
1852-1860	1874-1875
Atherton, Faxon Dean	Breen, John
1869-1881	1853-1855
Bancroft, Albert Little	Butler, Benjamin Franklin
1860-1914	1851-1875
Barnes, James B.	Cabaniss, George Henry
1847-1865	1849-1948
Barstow, Alfred	Cameron, Mrs. Jessie (Anderson)
1861-1862	1852-1858

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Catlin, Amos Parmalee | Gantner, John Oscar |
| 1852-1866 | 1890; 1947-1948 |
| Chandler, Sarah Elizabeth | Geary, John White |
| 1877-1946 | 1849-1872 |
| Cheever, Henry A. | Gibson, Horatio Gates |
| 1845-1888 | 1875-1877 |
| Chipman, William Worthington | Gordon, George |
| 1850-1929 | 1851-1870 |
| Clappe, Mrs. Louise Amelia Knapp | Griffin, John Strother |
| (Smith) | 1846-1847 |
| 1887 | Griswold, Mrs. Harriet (Booth) |
| Cleaveland, Henry W. | 1859 |
| 1862-1888 | Hall, William Hammond |
| Coad, Samuel | ca. 1887-1916 |
| 1854-1899 | Hallidie, Andrew Smith |
| Coffee, Andrew Jackson | 1852-1900 |
| 1850-1857 | Hare, Charles |
| Coolbrith, Ina | 1863-1883 |
| 1909-1925 | Harpending, Asbury |
| Crosby, Elisha Oscar | 1869-1918 |
| 1862-1880 | Hasbrouck, Josiah |
| Deal, David | 1877-1885 |
| 1873-1885 | Hayes, Thomas |
| Donahue, William E. | 1851-1879 |
| 1868-1882 | Hays, John Coffee |
| Duke, John Marve | 1847-1874 |
| 1877-1914 | Hittell, Theodore Henry |
| Duncan, William L. | 1857-1904 |
| 1852-1893 | Holladay, Samuel W. |
| Dwinelle, John Whipple | 1850-1894 |
| 1825-1931 | Hollingsworth, John McHenry |
| Eastland, Joseph Green | 1846-1849 |
| 1846-1853 | Hotchkiss, Edward |
| Eastland, Thomas Butler | 1850-1851 |
| 1849 | Hurlburt, H. L. |
| Eldredge, Albert S. | 1852-1865 |
| 1863-1864 | Ingalls, Eleaser Stillman |
| Ellery, Epes | 1850 |
| 1849-1900 | Irwin, Charles F. |
| Ely, Charles Arthur | 1873-1894 |
| 1845-1860 | Iturrigaray, José de |
| Emeric, Joseph | 1805 |
| 1851-1868 | Janes, Horace P. |
| Esdon, Erskine Estele | 1851-1875 |
| 1860-1941 | Kessler, Richard Theodore |
| Evans, Oliver Perry | 1867-1946 |
| 1871-1888 | King of William, James |
| Fages, Pedro | 1850-1855 |
| 1775 | Knowles, Josiah Nickerson |
| Folsom, Joseph Libby | 1854-1860 |
| 1848-1874 | Lamson, James |
| Friedlander, Isaac | 1852-1861 |
| 1872-1881 | Latham, Milton Slocum |
| Friedman, Joseph S. | 1842-1885 |
| 1850-1878 | |

- Leidesdorff, William A.
 1845-1874
 Lyman, Chester Smith
 1845-1864
 McAllister, Hall
 1850-1888
 McCollam, Thomas W.
 1853-1898
 McDowell, Henry Burden
 1884-1894
 McKune, John H.
 1875-1878
 Mailliard, John Ward
 1861-1907
 Mallett, Alfred
 1871-1879
 Martin, Anne Henrietta
 1925-1951
 Masson, Paul
 1643-1934
 Maynard, Lafayette
 1852-1865
 Mead, Lewis Risdon
 1865-1882
 Meeks, William Newton
 1848-1896
 Miller, John Franklin
 1873-1883
 Mix, Gustave Louis
 1865-1884
 Morse, Salmi
 1858-1883
 Murdock, Charles A.
 1856-1926
 Nash, Joseph
 1875-1930
 O'Brien, William Shoney
 1867-1881
 Page, Francis W.
 1853-1857
 Parker, Marvel
 1849
 Payot, Henry
 1856-1921
 Perkins, George Clement
 1894-1914
 Phelps, Timothy Guy
 1856-1899
 Putnam, R. F.
 1862-1876
 Ralston, William Chapman
 1851-1875
 Rix, Alfred
 1849-1930
 Robinson, Alfred
 1828-1890
 Rolph, James
 1914-1927
 Schedel, George
 1859-1887
 Schmiedell, Henry
 1852-1863
 Seward, Thomas Thompson
 1849-1855
 Shepard, Isaac
 1849
 Sherburne, John S.
 1859-1870
 Sherman, William Tecumseh
 1856-1890
 Sloat, John Drake
 1845-1846
 Smith, Charles W.
 1850
 Smith, James Jerome
 1878-1914
 Sorbier, Mrs. Louise Agathe J. (Bacon)
 1854-1948
 Steinberger, John A.
 1870-1873
 Stickney, John I.
 1849-1850
 Stockton, Robert Field
 1846-1847
 Stow, Joseph W.
 1863; 1873
 Sturdavant, B. F.
 1864-1865
 Sullivan, Eugene L.
 1850-1881
 Sutro, Adolph
 1853-1899
 Swain, William B.
 1872-1877
 Tasheira, George
 1880-1921
 Valle, Reginaldo Francisco del
 1850-1932
 Vincent, Joshua
 1846-1847
 Washington, Samuel
 1850-1858
 Waterman, Robert Whitney
ca. 1860-1890
 Watson, Mrs. Elizabeth Lowe
 1914-1920
 Watts, John William
 1850

Wheeler, Alfred
1849-1856
Whitcomb, Adolphus C.
1847-1924
Whitelaw, Thomas P. H.
1873-1931
Wilson, George Osborne
1849
Winslow, Charles Frederick
1849

Wood, Mrs. Susan (Torrey)
1843-1914
Wright, George W.
1851-1858
Young, G. W.
1849-1850
Zellerbach, Anthony
1863-1867

BUSINESS PAPERS

Adams & Company, Bankers,
San Francisco
1849-1854
Alaska Commercial Company,
San Francisco
1868-1918
Baldwin & Company, Wells Fargo
Agents, Rattlesnake
1855-1856
Bank of Gold Hill, Nevada
1879-1880
Center (John), Real Estate,
San Francisco
1856-1877
Chichizola (Agustino) Company,
General Store, Amador City
1877-1905
Crim (Samuel), Real Estate
San Francisco
1846-1904
Ellis (Hyman and Nathan) Company,
General Store, Ukiah
1870-1880
Enright & Murphy, General
Merchandise, Redwood City
1859-1860
Golden Gate and Miners' Union Iron
Works, San Francisco
1863-1891
Gray (Samuel C.), General Store,
Benicia
1851-1878
Jones (David R.) Lumber Company,
San Francisco and Humboldt County
1856-1862
Kennebec Mining Company, Birchville
1864-1872
Klotz (John and Frederick) Woodyard,
San Francisco
1871-1873
McLellan (Jim) Gold & Silver Mining
Company, American City, Nevada
1863-1865; 1874

Mecartea (Austin), Blacksmith,
Big Oak Flat
1888-1891
National Exchange Hotel, Nevada City
1869-1876
Osmer & Company, Retail Liquors,
San Francisco
1887-1898
Patch, Clayton & Company, Commission
Merchants, San Francisco
1853-1855
Porter & Sawyer, Attorneys,
San Francisco
1859-1861
Roop (Josiah) General Store, Shasta
1851-1852
Rowland, Walker & Company,
Wholesale Grocers, San Francisco
1864-1866
St. Lawrence Mining Company,
Downieville
1858-1862
Sun Sun Wo Company, General Store,
Coulterville
ca. 1865-1895
Tiger Flat Mining Company,
Nevada County
1857-1858
Walker (William C.) Golden Gate
Nursery, San Francisco
1858-1859
Warm Springs Hotel, Alameda County
1858-1869
Wells Fargo & Company's Express,
La Grange
1872-1876
Woolroofe & Thornton, Blacksmiths,
Sierra County
1855-1856
Yellow Jacket Silver Mining Company,
Gold Hill, Nevada
1863-1865

ORGANIZATIONAL AND MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

Alameda County Homeopathic Medical Society 1898-1908	Nevada County Women's Suffrage Association 1869-1872
Arguello Boulevard Improvement Club, San Francisco 1909-1927	Presbyterian Hospitality House, San Francisco 1944-1945
Babies' Aid, San Francisco 1920-1950	San Francisco Club, San Francisco 1915-1922
California Volunteer Cavalry. 1st Regiment. 1863-1864	Stockton. Harbor Master. 1855-1856
Harvard Club of San Francisco 1906-1911	Sunset Development and Transportation Association, San Francisco 1921-1930
Massachusetts & California Company, Northampton, Massachusetts 1849	Territorial Pioneers of California, San Francisco 1875-1877
Merced County Assessor's Field Book 1869	Traders' Association of the City and County of San Francisco 1862-1896
Middlesex and California Joint Stock Company 1849	

SHIPS' LOGS OR JOURNALS

<i>Apollo</i> (photostat) 1849	<i>Orion</i> 1849
<i>Brookline</i> 1828-1829	<i>Owhyhee</i> 1827-1830
<i>Diana</i> 1833-1844	<i>Panama</i> 1849
<i>Eustace</i> 1864-1867	<i>Wild Wave</i> 1854-1858
<i>Expounder</i> 1859-1860	

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 1 to December 1, 1954

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND United States Naval Institute	DANVERS, MASSACHUSETTS Lawrence W. Jenkins
BERKELEY Anson S. Blake Ralph H. Cross, Sr. Mrs. Oliver Stuart Loud Mrs. Rogers Parratt Morris Simpson	DAVIS Tracy I. Storer
COLMA Reamer D. Oliphant	EUREKA Howard B. Melendy
	LODI Mrs. Naomi Carey
	LOS ANGELES Phil Townsend Hanna

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.

Mrs. William Ely Chambers

OAKLAND

Mrs. Ralph Coffey

Peter T. Conmy

Harold C. Holmes

Albert E. Norman

Maurice H. Shuey

OJAI

Mrs. David Lavender

PALO ALTO

Miss Stella Huntington

PEBBLE BEACH

Mrs. Henry G. Jorgensen

RIVERSIDE

Mrs. Frank A. Miller

ROSS

Mrs. Milton H. Esberg

SACRAMENTO

Miss Enola Flower

Hon. Sherrill Halbert

ST. HELENA

Miss Ivy M. Loeber

SAN BERNARDINO

L. Burr Belden

SAN DIEGO

Philip S. Rush

SAN FRANCISCO

American Trust Company

Hans Barkan, M.D.

Kenneth K. Bechtel

Miss Carmelina M. Bianchi

Miss Giovannina N. Bianchi

Mrs. Mae Hélène Bacon Boggs

George H. Cabaniss, Jr.

Henry G. Carlisle

Louis J. Cohn

Commonwealth Club of California

Mrs. Clara Wiley Conley

Stanley E. Crichton

Crocker Estate Company

Albert Cunningham

Andrew P. De Bernardi

Laurence V. Degnan

Charles de Limur

Mervyn C. Eidenmuller

Clarence Gervais

Mrs. Guy J. Giffen

Morgan A. Gunst

William S. Harrison

Miss A. Josephine Hewitt

Mrs. St. George Holden, Jr.

Arthur W. Hooper

Mrs. Chester W. Judson

Edgar M. Kahn

Miss Florence R. Keene

Miss Emma E. Kinne

Edward Leese

Alexander T. Leonard, Jr., M.D.

Mrs. Harriet F. Lewis

R. E. Lewis

Henry D. Meyer

Mrs. Marion Montague

Isadore B. Myers

Mrs. Ursula R. Rick

Miss Else Schilling

Frank Schwabacher

Porter Sesnon

Sisters of Mercy

Chester W. Skaggs

Mrs. Theodore Smith

Miss Emily C. Timlow

Joseph D. Welch

Mrs. Samuel Austin Wood

Miss Lottie G. Woods

SAN JOSE

Central Coast Railway Club

SAN LEANDRO

Mr. and Mrs. B. K. Melville

SAN LORENZO

Mrs. Ivy Miller

SAN MARINO

Henry R. Wagner

SANTA BARBARA

Mrs. W. F. Kelly

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Mrs. E. H. Van Patten

SOMERSET

Charles G. Nash

SONOMA

Edmond D. Coblenz

VALLEJO

Russell F. O'Hara

WEBSTER GROVES, MISSOURI

E. Lee Dorsett, M.D.

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

- ADAMS, ANSEL. The Pageant of History and the Panorama of Today in Northern California; a Photographic Interpretation . . . San Francisco [American Trust Co.] 1954. [36 l.] Illus. [Apply to publisher]
- CARLISLE, HENRY G. San Francisco Street Names; Sketches of the Lives of Pioneers for Whom San Francisco Streets Are Named. [San Francisco, American Trust Co., 1954. 26 l.] Illus., map. [Apply to publisher]
- CHASE, DON MARQUIS. A Century of Life and Faith in Del Norte County. Crescent City [1954] 54 p. Illus. [Apply to author, Crescent City]
- CROSS, RALPH HERBERT. The Early Inns of California, 1844-1869. San Francisco [Author] 1954. v, 302 p. Illus., map. \$10.00.
- DAKIN, SUSANNA BRYANT. The Published Writings of Francis Peloubet Farquhar; Together with an Introduction to F[rancis] P[eloubet] F[arquhar]. San Francisco [Privately printed] 1954. vii, 17 p.
- DAWSON, GLEN. Southwest Books; a Priced and Indexed Book Catalog Including a Check List of the Zamorano Eighty. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1954. 143 p. Illus. \$3.00.
- EARLY, LEE and AIM MORHARDT. Western Men and Desert Gold; Stories, Songs and Poems of the Death Valley Region. [Bishop, Authors, c1954. 23 l.] \$1.00.
- FOX, MAUDE A. Both Sides of the Mountain. Yucaipa [Author] 1954. 132 p. Illus. \$3.50. [Apply to author, Route 4, Box 744, Yucaipa]
- GIFFEN, HELEN SMITH, comp. California Mining Town Newspapers, 1850-1880; a Bibliography. Van Nuys, J. E. Reynolds, 1954. 102 p. Illus. \$6.00.
- GLOVER, WILLIAM. The Mormons in California. Los Angeles, G. Dawson, 1954. 40 p. \$3.25.
- GORTER, WYTZE and GEORGE H. HILDEBRAND. The Pacific Coast Maritime Shipping Industry, 1930-1948. Vol. II. Berkeley, University of California, 1954. 371 p. \$5.00.
- HOLDREDGE, HELEN. Mammy Pleasant's Partner. N. Y., Putnam's [c1954] vii, 299 p. Illus., ports. \$4.50.
- MCARDLE, MARY AURELIA. California's Pioneer Sister of Mercy, Mother Mary Baptist Russell (1829-1898). Fresno, Academy Library Guild, 1954. 204 p. Illus., ports. \$6.00.
- MACARTHUR, MILDRED YORBA. California-Spanish Proverbs. San Francisco, Colt Press, 1954. 80 p. \$7.50.
- MCCLINTOCK, MARION. Old St. Mary's; Her Story. [San Francisco] The Church, 1954. [42 l.] Illus., ports. \$1.00.

- PAUL, ARTHUR C., ed. *Riverside Community Book*. Riverside, Arthur H. Cawston, 1954. 496 p. Illus., maps, ports. [Apply to publisher, P. O. Box 333, Riverside]
- POMFRET, JOHN E., ed. *California Gold Rush Voyages, 1848-1849; Three Original Narratives*. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1954. 242 p. Illus. \$5.00.
- STEWART, GEORGE RIPPEY. *To California by Covered Wagon*. N. Y., Random House, 1954. 182 p. \$1.50.
- TEALE, EDWIN WAY. *The Wilderness World of John Muir*. Cambridge, Houghton Mifflin, 1954. xx, 332 p. \$4.50.
- VANCOUVER, GEORGE. *Vancouver in California, 1792-1794; the Original Account of George Vancouver Edited and Annotated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur*. Los Angeles, G. Dawson, 1954. 274 p. Illus., maps. \$7.50.
- WHEAT, CARL IRVING. *Mapping the American West, 1540-1857; a Preliminary Study; Dedicated to Henry R. Wagner*. Worcester, American Antiquarian Society, 1954. 194 p. \$2.00.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

J. N. Bowman is historian of the central record depository, Sacramento, and has for many years been a contributor to the *QUARTERLY* on a wide variety of subjects. Most recent contribution was his "Seal of the California Supreme Court" in the March 1954 number, pp. 73-75.

Paul Odell Clark, a graduate of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., and a candidate for the Ph.D. degree at Harvard University, teaches English literature at Hillyer College, Hartford. Articles by him have appeared recently in the *Philological Quarterly*, and in *Studies in Philology*, the latter having published his "A Gulliver Dictionary" in their October 1953 issue. During the last war Mr. Clark served in the air force (army) as navigator, which took him to Italy in 1943.

Will C. Cluff, Jr., was born (1919) in Dixon, Calif. His grade and high school work was completed at Auburn; then came attendance at Placer Junior College, the Chico State College (A.B., 1941), College of the Pacific (M.A., 1951) and Ed.D. at the same institution in 1954 — the first such degree granted by C.O.P.; subject of his dissertation, "Contributions of John Swett to Public Education in California." Mr. Cluff is now principal of the Garretson Heights School, Rodeo, Calif.

John Shea Enright, S.J., is a native of Glencoe, Ill. He received his A.B. degree at Loyola University in 1939, and in 1941 entered the Society of Jesus, Los Gatos, Calif. He is now pursuing graduate studies at West Baden College (of Loyola University, Chicago), West Baden Springs, Ind. It was while teaching at Bellarmine College Preparatory School, San Jose, 1949-52, that he became interested in gathering the Breen family papers, inventoried in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

Formerly a member of the art department at the University of Colorado and, later, head of the art department at Stephen F. Austin State College, Nacogdoches, Texas, Elliot Evans (Ph.D., Stanford University, 1940) is at present art-faculty chairman in Santa Barbara College, University of California. His other professional activities include the chairmanship of the Pacific section, Society of Architectural Historians (1954) and contributor to the society's quarterly *Journal*.

T. Albert Strobridge is a native of Sacramento where his parents, Tullius Washington and Sarah (Marvin) Strobridge were married in 1872. His mother's family had originally settled in Jamestown, Calif., his father's in Sacramento. Mr. Strobridge studied at Pomona College and at the University of California. After thirty years in the dental-supply business in San Francisco and Oakland he sold the business and is now an independent wholesale broker of quality wines, with headquarters in San Francisco.

AMONG OUR NEW MEMBERS:

Samuel W. Coombs was born in Salt Lake City, the child of Utah-born parents whose parents were, in turn, from Pennsylvania and Missouri. Mr. Coombs, who has been with the Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States for over twenty years, has recently secured some land on the south fork of the Salmon River in Siskiyou County and is devoting his leisure to a study of that county's history. He holds a membership in the Siskiyou County Historical Society.

Mrs. Richard C. (Grace Baash) Dickmann's father, L. F. Baash, was a native of Denmark whose interest in developing California's oil resources took him to Coalinga where Mrs. Dickmann was born. His enthusiasm for his adopted state's history has inspired her, Mrs. Dickmann says, to know it better.

Mrs. Richard S. (Lulu Gabel) Giese was born in San Francisco where her father, Henry F. Gabel, had a tailoring store — one of a chain that extended from Los Angeles to Seattle and east to Salt Lake City. Her maternal uncles, Ira and Charlie Bunster, on the other hand, specialized not on personal but on household adornment under the name of Bunster & Saxe, Market Street, San Francisco. Mrs. Giese is an officer in the National League of American Pen Women, which is planning to hold its mid-administration convention in San Jose during April of next year.

Both Mrs. Richard M. Lyman, Jr. (listed in the Sept. QUARTERLY) and her husband are native Californians with great-grandfathers who played important parts in the state's history. Mrs. Lyman's great-grandfather was Henry Gibbons, Sr., M.D., a native of Delaware, who, as soon as he arrived in San Francisco in 1850, began his practice by attacking a cholera epidemic. From this moment, the Gibbons family has not lacked a representative among the medical men of San Francisco. (See "In Memoriam," Morton Raymond Gibbons, Sr., M.D., by Allen L. Chickering, Dec. 1949 QUARTERLY, pp. 374-75.) Mr. Lyman's great-grandfather was James P. Flint, well-known Boston merchant, who reached the west coast in October 1849. Shortly afterwards he founded the San Francisco firm of Flint, Peabody & Co., commission merchants. A note on his career in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin* of March 8, 1873 (2d ed., p. 2, col. 2), the day of his death, said of him that for more than twenty-three years he had maintained "a high character for honor and strict integrity as a business man, and was greatly esteemed for his private worth as a citizen. . . ."

Mrs. Charles F. (Clare N.) Mills writes us that though living in Washington, D. C., she keeps alive her father's "deep interest in California history." What does the "N." in her signature stand for? In February 1890, a just-turned forty year old clergyman, graduate of the Berkeley Divinity School, in Middletown, Conn., arrived in San Francisco with his wife, née Clara Quintard of New York, to ease the administrative burdens of the Right Rev. W. I. Kip, bishop of the Episcopal diocese of California, then twice his assistant's age. William Ford Nichols* pre-

*An account of his work is given in the *Dictionary of American Biography*.

vious parishes had been Christ Church in Hartford, Conn., and St. James' Church in Philadelphia; so that, though young in years, his experience in important centers elsewhere made his succession to Bishop Kip's place seem fitting, after the latter's death in April 1893. Occupying pulpits in San Francisco at the time of the Rev. Mr. Nichols' arrival were such churchmen as the Rev. Dr. Jacob Voor-sanger, rabbi at Congregation Emanu-El; the Rev. Robert Mackenzie at the First Presbyterian Church; the Most Rev. Patrick W. Riordan, Catholic archbishop of San Francisco, at St. Mary's Cathedral; the Rev. Dr. Horatio Stebbins at the First Unitarian Church; and the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Fowler, resident Methodist Episcopal bishop of the Pacific coast, at the First Methodist Episcopal Church. From the point of view simply of the California terrain with its incumbent population, Bishop Nichols' recognition of the fact that the area of Los Angeles, and the great central valley of California with its eastern rim of mountains, should each be separated from the parent diocese in San Francisco and erected into separate dioceses, was perhaps his most discerning administrative undertaking. It saw fulfillment: the first in 1895; and the second, fifteen years later. Earthquake and fire failed to slow down Bishop Nichols. He planned a great church and secured the gift of a site (a site in every sense of the word) upon which arose Grace Cathedral. He planned a religious school and it came into being in 1893 at San Mateo, under the name "Church Divinity School of the Pacific."* His other activities, including a tour of this planet in 1911 and his report on it, *Some World-Circuit Saunterings*, are far too many to list here. But there is one small pamphlet that might be recalled. Five years earlier, as mentioned above, the city had experienced its "big shake." It was something that loomed large in the consciousness of children. Realizing this, Bishop Nichols wrote *A Father's Story of the Earthquake and Fire in San Francisco, April 18, 19, 20, 1906*, published that year. The trailing out of the days in the title was a touch not lost on San Francisco Bay-area residents of that time — especially, we may presume, was it not lost on his young daughter Clare. Bishop Nichols continued to be active in the church (which includes also the community) until, in 1921, ill health made it advisable for him to resign. His death occurred three years later in San Francisco.

*After the earthquake the school was moved to the cathedral grounds in San Francisco; and then, in 1930, across the bay to Berkeley.

CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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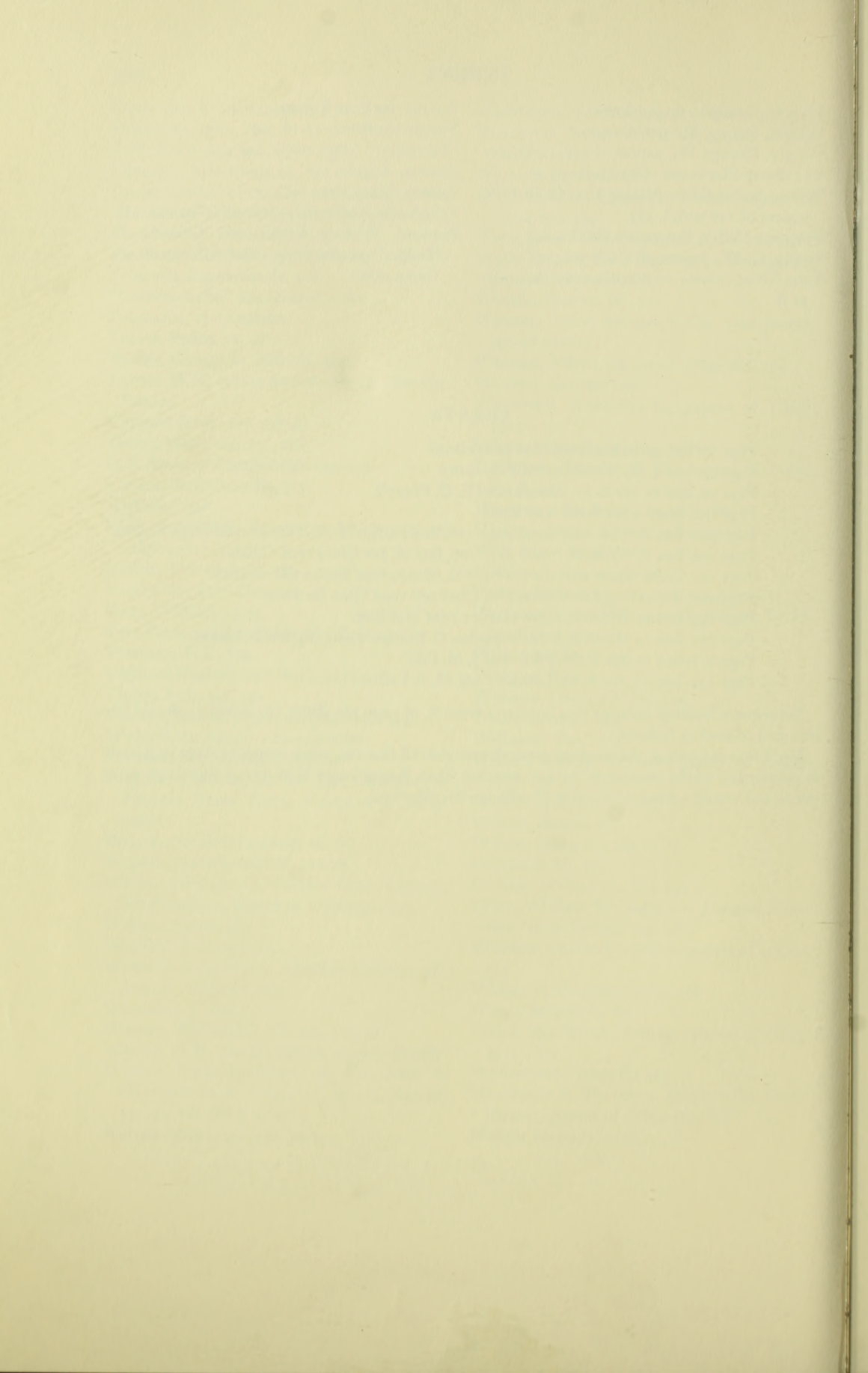
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 (biog. note)

ERRATA

- Page 97, line 4, *for* declared *read* proclaimed
 Page 97, line 6, *for* Territory *read* territory
 Page 98, line 17, *for* B. D. French *read* E. D. French
 Page 102, line 21, *for* Beall *read* Beale
 Page 102, line 12 (from ft.); and page 108, line 18, *for* H. A. Turner *read* H. S. Turner
 Page 105, line 13 (from ft.); and page 106, line 18, *for* Child *read* Childs
 Page 112, line 6 (from ft.), *for* Richard E. Mason *read* Richard B. Mason
 Page 124, lines 13-14, *for* William M. Cheyney *read* Glen Dawson
 Page 149, line 11 (from ft.), *for* Harder *read* Harding
 Page 262, line 14 (from ft.), *for* Langdon C. Easton *read* Langdon B. Easton
 Page 277, line 12, *for* C. M. Pike *read* J. M. Pike
 Page 333, line 16, *for* S. M. Latham *read* M. S. Latham

Subsequent findings indicate that lines 3-11 from ft. of page 267 (Sept. QUARTERLY) should be changed to read as follows:

Dr. Thomas Lawson, the surgeon general, complained that too many surgeons were required in proportion to the number of troops; but Adj. Gen. Roger Jones kept demanding more surgeons and would relieve neither Dr. Griffin nor Dr. Murray.



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